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Ex d 16

THE LITERARY SOCIETY OF BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC

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—ಂದಿರಾ

ನವದಹಲಿ, ನವಂಬರ್ 20:— ಕ ಆಥವಾ ರಾಜ್ಯಗಳ ತಳಹದಿಯು ಫನಾ ಕಾರ್ಯಗಳ ಸ್ಥಾಪನೆಗಾಗಿ ಜ ನಲ ಹೂಡುವುದು ರಾಷ್ಟ್ರದ ಹಿ ಯೊಗಲಾರದೆಂದು ಪ್ರಧಾನಿ ಂದಿರಾ ಧಿಯವರಿಂದು ಹೇಳಿದರು.

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ಇಂಫಾಲ್: ನವಂಬರ 20:— ಸಮರ ವಿರಾಮಕ್ಕೆ ಒಳಪಟ್ಟು ಉಖ್ರಾಲ್‌ನಿಂದ ಆರು ಮೈ ದೂರದ ರಾಂಗ್‌ತಕ್ ಸ್ಕೀಮ್ ಎಂಬಲ್ಲಿ ಬೆಳ್ಗೆ ನಾಗಾವಿದ್ರೋಹಿಗಳ ಭಾರೀತಂಡ ಸ್ವಯಂಚಾಲಿತ ಶಸ್ತ್ರಗಳೊಡನೆ ಆಕ ಗಿ ಧಾಳಿ ನಡೆಸಿದಾಗ ಸಂ ರಿಸ ಪೋಲೀಸು ದಳಕ್ಕೆ ಸೇರಿದ ಸಶಸ್ತ್ರ ಬ್ ಮರಣ ತಪ್ಪಿ ವರದಿ

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THE

LIFE

OF

SHEIKH MOHAMMED ALI HAZIN,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF;

TRANSLATED FROM TWO PERSIAN MANUSCRIPTS,

AND ILLUSTRATED WITH

NOTES

EXPLANATORY OF

THE HISTORY, POETRY, GEOGRAPHY, &c.

WHICH THEREIN OCCUR.

BY

F. C. BELFOUR, M.A. Oxon. F.R.A.S. LL.D.

TAYLOR-LIBRARY OPTEK BOMBAY BRANCH OFFICE ASIATIC SOCIETY

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LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

CHARLES W. WILLIAMS WYNN, M.P.

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY;

PRESIDENT OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND;

VICE-PATRON AND DEPUTY CHAIRMAN

OF THE

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION COMMITTEE, &c. &c.

SIR,

IN permitting me to place under your especial patronage this Translation of a Work which had long been regarded by some distinguished Orientalists as deserving to be thrown open to the English reader, you have performed, to me indeed, an eminent and most valued kindness, but in itself an act of very small importance, when ranked by the side of the many signal benefits derived to literature from your judicious liberality.

To this our nation is indebted for one of the most illustrious ornaments of her storied hierarchy, raised by you to that eminence which the brilliancy of the talents and the splendour of the virtues of BISHOP HEBER required, to diffuse abroad their guiding light—to shine

forth for yourself an everlasting monument, as Worth and Merit's Friend.

Too generous for the confinement of vulgar minds, you have disregarded the mere pretensions of connexion and clanship in the distribution not only of the higher, but also of the inferior grades of Indian preferment; and disinterestedly aiming at the welfare and improvement of our growing empire, by the encouragement of budding industry and juvenile learning, as well as of ripened erudition, you have sent aspiring talents to our distant colonies, where in after times, if their cultivators are but spared to live, they will be looked up to and admired as additional memorials of your patriotic virtue and political integrity.

Compelled by gratitude, as one of the lowest of the British Olemâ, to offer you my small share of the tribute of thanks which from the whole body are so peremptorily your due, and proud to inscribe my humble performance to so illustrious a patron,

I have the honour to remain,

Sir,

Your obliged and obedient Servant,

F. C. BELFOUR.

PREFACE.

"MAWLANA Sheikh Mohammed Alî Hazîn مولانا شیخ محمد علي حزین a Persian of Distinction, eminently learned and accomplished, having fled into Hindôstân from his native country to avoid the persecution of Nâdir Shâh, died at an advanced age about the year 1779 at Benares, equally admired and esteemed by the Muselmân, Hindoo, and English inhabitants of India. His retirement is thus noticed by a contemporary writer, the *Khowâja Abdolkarîm*, who, having quoted a tetrastich of the Sheikh, in which some reflexions are thrown on the mean origin of Nâdir Shâh, adds,

بزرگي ميفرمود كه سخن شيخ در اين باب قابل

اعتبار نیست زیرا که دشمن همدیگر بودند و ملازمان شیخ ز ترس او بهندوستان تشریف آوردند

'An illustrious person has observed, that the language of the Sheikh on this subject is not worthy of attention, because they (Nâdir Shâh and he) were enemies to each other, and the venerable Sheikh, from fear of him (Nâdir Shâh), honoured India as the place of his retirement.'

"The copy of the Sheikh's memoirs in my possession is an octavo volume of 153 pages: it was composed some years after his settlement for life in Hindôstân, and contains such a pleasing variety of personal and historical anecdotes, such excellent observations on men and manners, besides an interesting account of his travels, and remarks on many modern literary productions, with specimens of several,—that I was induced to employ in a translation of this work five or six weeks of the last summer (1797), during my residence in the country. It appears that Mohammed Alî Hazîn was a voluminous author both in

prose and verse. I have perused with much pleasure two large volumes of his elegies and sonnets. His liberality in religious opinions, (although he seems sincere in his attachment to the religion he professed,) exceeds that of any Muselmân writer with whose works I am acquainted; and is eminently conspicuous in the praises he bestows on some learned and amiable Magians, (the descendants and disciples of the ancient fire-worshippers,) whom he met with in Yazd and other towns of Persia: his tribute of approbation was never withholden from any who could justly claim it, of whatever sect or nation,—*Tros Tyriusve.*

"My translation of his Memoirs, with a map, which I have constructed to describe his route through various parts of Arabia, Persia, and Hindôstân, but little known to European travellers, shall be offered to the public as soon as some literary engagements, which at present engross my time, shall have been fulfilled."

Thus wrote Sir William Ouseley in No. 1 of the Second Volume of his Oriental Collections, p. 36. published by Cadell and Davies in the year 1798. Five-and-twenty years later, Sir William again writes, in his Travels Vol. i. p. 415 :

"This passage, referring to the Sabians," (for its translation in this volume, see page 160) "is extracted from Mohammed Alî Hazîn's Memoirs, comprised in a thin octavo volume, of which I had commenced several years ago an English translation, to be printed with the Persian text. But, having learned that a very ingenious Orientalist at Calcutta was employed on the same text, I relinquished my design. Since the death, however, of that gentleman, it appears, that he had never actually begun although he had meditated the work. My translation, therefore, may yet be offered to the public at some future period of leisure. To the observations which I formerly made on the learned and accomplished Sheikh, I will only add that he was

born at Isphâhân, in 1692; that he was as high in civil rank, as he was eminent for the purest erudition; that of many hundred Muselmân authors, whose works I have perused, he is one of the few (five or perhaps six) entitled to the epithet 'liberal;' and that one account which I have seen of his latest existence, states that 'he had attained to a very advanced age;' another, more particular, dates his death in the year 1779."

Sir William does not state whence he obtained this last information. If it is correct, then it appears, that the Sheikh lived seven-and-thirty years after he had penned in 1742 this history of his preceding life; but leading, as he tells us, the dullest course of existence in the dullest of all countries, and disabled by his increasing infirmities for any active exertion of either body or mind, he has probably deprived the world of little instruction by neglecting to carry forward his memoirs to a later date; even those which he has given are curtailed of the greater

part of the scenes which he witnessed in India, for the reason which he furnishes in page 256.

That, in translating these Memoirs, I have accomplished a task, so highly esteemed and so long contemplated by the distinguished scholar and most sincere and persevering promoter of Oriental literature, whose valuable works I have quoted above, is to me a source of delightful satisfaction, which would be perfect, were it not for my sense of the much inferior merit of my humble performance. But I had two great difficulties to contend with in the execution of the greater part of the labour. Working on a single manuscript, very incorrectly written, which, not having perused Sir William Ouseley's Works, I supposed was the only copy of the Sheikh's Memoirs to be found in this country; (for the use of which most liberally granted me by Professor KEENE of the India College Haileybury, I am much indebted to that learned gentleman's unenvious friend-

ship;) I was perpetually puzzled by the omission of some words, the entire but accidental disfigurement of others, and, most of all, by the steady uniformity of the ignorant copyist in misspelling not a few. To every Scholar it must be apparent, that to decipher such a writing it is peculiarly requisite that means be had of referring to what I will call the General Assembly of the Language in which the Manuscript is written, summoned within the comprehensive bounds of an authoritative dictionary. Without this facility, and the most intense meditation of the context, not even the most learned philologist can pretend to a due performance of his arduous task. Limited to unsatisfactory conjectures, he will run the risk of substituting expressions and ideas of his own; or he will in despair abandon the translation altogether, and in order to retreat with flying colours perhaps fall back on the critical correction of the copy; as I have heard it related of a

highly talented Orientalist, either in France or England, who, on being applied to for a translation of the Arabic Manuscript containing the Sherîf Ibrâhîm's Account of the Death of Mungo Park, acknowledged, after a diligent investigation, his total inability to decipher the ill-written document, but volunteered a correction, which he considered important. The Manuscript in one place gave these words ورجل الّذي في السّفينة قتل امرأته ورمي ماله كلّه في البحر He observed that neither Mungo Park nor his companion could be supposed so cruel as to kill his wife; no man kills his wife; it must be قبّل امرأته "kissed his wife," *embrassa sa femme.*

But at the time when I began this translation I was generally confined to the help of Richardson's Arabic and Persian Dictionary, of which it is hardly possible to speak with sufficient contempt. When compared with the correct and erudite productions of fo-

reigners in the same department; with that of Giggeius in Italy, Meninski in Austria, Golius in the Netherlands, &c. it must be regarded as utterly discreditable to our country. Poor Sir John, though he shewed considerable ability in writing rules and dissertations, had not a competent knowledge either of Arabic or Persian, Turkish or Greek, Latin or English; and his compilation consequently became a confused mass, a *rudis indigestaque moles*, where Turkish is given for Persian, Persian for Arabic, and all of them occasionally in ungrammatical Latin; where not even the orthography of common English words can be depended on. To the great joy of all true friends of solid learning, this disgraceful state of our Oriental Literature has been repaired and remedied by the new edition or rather the new dictionary, presented to the public, under the patronage of the Hon. East India Company, by that accurate and laborious scholar, Mr. Francis Johnson. With the aid of the

powerful and well adjusted instrument which this gentleman has provided for the exercise of translation, a masterly operator may approach his task in perfect good-humour and confidence, and will find but rarely, for the Persian, any want of other means and appliances. It is, however, a pity, that Mr. Johnson has retained any of the old leaven; and much to be lamented that he did not completely alter the arrangement of his predecessor as to the Arabic language. It would have been better had he begun and finished the work on his own plan, and given us a Dictionary nominally as well as really his own.

To the timely removal of the difficulty with regard to the tools, kind fortune was pleased somewhat later to add also an extension and facilitation of the materials, by leading me to the discovery of Sir William Ouseley's Manuscript, of which that worthy Knight most liberally and readily granted me the use. Without two manuscript copies

of his author, as no single copy will ever give him the true readings, no person should ever attempt to translate from an Eastern language.

Having adverted to English Orthography, I will confess my fear, that some readers will be disposed to find fault with that which I have in some words adopted. The readers of the printing-house by their remonstrances and objections have already shewn me the impossibility of pleasing every body on this score. The Dictionary used by mere English scholars is invariably Samuel Johnson's; and few of them are aware that the whimsical Lexicographer has in some instances wantonly departed from the rules of Etymology, in order magisterially to introduce a new spelling of his own. As an instance of this I will mention the verb *to shew*. Notwithstanding the clearest evidence that its radical vowel is *a*, as found in its Anglo-Saxon original ꝑceapian; yet the Doctor chooses to write it with an *o*. "This word," says he,

"is frequently written *shew*; but since it is always pronounced, and often written *show*, which is favoured likewise by the Dutch *schouwen*, I have adjusted the orthography to the pronunciation." Whether it is *always* pronounced so in all parts of England I have not been able to ascertain; but even if it were, the pronunciation is no sure criterion: and as to the Dutch word, it is corrupted from the German *schauen*, where the *a* is found as in the Anglo-Saxon. I have therefore been obstinate in writing *shew*, according to ancient practice and the authority of all our Classical Dictionaries.

There are other fashions in orthography to which I have not been induced to conform; such as that of leaving out the *u* in *honour*, the *e* in *judgement*, &c. Our language is confessedly derived in part from the Latin through the French. In the latter language the long *o* of such Latin words as *splendōr*, *errōr*, is marked by the diphthong *eu*, which in sound is the diphthong *o*, *œ*.

For this, in English, we were accustomed to use the diphthong *ou*, and adhered to the rules of Etymology in marking the length of the syllable. With the contrary fashion, whereby the long syllable in *honor* is not distinguished from the short, I have ventured to persevere in refusing my compliance. The other new mode of writing *dg* for *dge* is too contemptible to be discoursed on. As well might *pq*, or *st*, be used to produce the sound required. Every author, however, being frequently indebted, as he must be, to his friendly printer for the correction of many errors which he is too prone to make in despite of his better judgement, must more or less submit to the controul which is exercised over him by the officers of the press, who will have notions of their own, and obstinately carry them into effect like their brethren, the Worshipful Company of Copyists in the Eastern countries. It is related of one of the latter, who, at the same time that he could delineate the exact figure of the

Arabic characters to a hair's breadth, was nothing of a scholar, that being employed by a Mohammedan prince to write him out in his beautiful hand a correct copy of the Coran, he was most earnestly and urgently entreated to adhere to the original placed before him, and not to yield, as his compeers so often did, to any fanciful idea of his own in correcting and altering the text. Having made the most solemn promise, that he would obey the prince's commands, he was set with his pen to work and in due time completed the performance of his task. Nothing could exceed the beauty of his penmanship, and the copy of the Coran which he now laid before the prince, was admired as a perfect master-piece by the whole court. Should every word prove to be as correctly as it was beautifully written, all were agreed that the reward of the artist deserved to be raised to the highest valuation. Several learned Mollas were commissioned to examine the work, and declared upon trial

that they found no fault in it. The prince now perfectly satisfied was about to confer the reward, when it bethought him, as a last assurance, to question the writer himself; and he put it to him on the word of a Moselmân, and as he hoped to be saved, whether he had in any instance deviated from the conduct enjoined him, to which he had so solemnly engaged himself. The penman submissively answered, but in a manner that betrayed the workings of his inward pride, that he had indeed, but only once, yielded to the dictates of his better judgement in correcting a mistake, which it was impossible he should allow to remain. He referred to the passage, Sorat 7: 140 where Moses is said to have fallen to the ground in the presence of God.

فَلَمَّا تَجَلَّى رَبُّهُ لِلْجَبَلِ جَعَلَهُ دَكًّا وَخَرَّ مُوسَى صَعِقًا

By Sale rendered, "But when his Lord appeared with glory in the Mount, he reduced it to dust. And Moses fell down in a swoon."

Reading it as Persian, the only language he knew any thing of, being his mother tongue, he understood خر موسي to mean the *ass of Moses* or *Mósa*, and observed, "I had heard of the *staff* of Môsa, but I never heard of the *ass* of Môsa. The *ass of Isa* every body has heard of; and as I had no doubt that it must be خر عيسي and not خر موسي I corrected it so."

There is also a rule of Syntax of the modern English Grammarian, which I have resisted as much as euphony would allow. It is pretended that not only can no verb or participle be qualified with a word, which has not the distinct adverbial termination of *ly* &c. but that every adjective must be so construed; so that, strictly speaking, it is wrong to say *very good*. Both words are adjectives, and the one qualifies the other. For my part, I think it more grammatical to say, for instance, *exceeding* than *exceedingly, difficult*. The rule for adding the troublesome syllable, has been borrowed

from the French language, which it no doubt suits: but it never has made its way into the German, and should be regarded as foreign to the English.

There is perhaps no language of any pretensions to embellishment which varies so much from the style we are accustomed to in our own, and in the Greek and Latin authors, as the Persian language does. Though Sheikh Hazîn writes most correctly and classically, there is occasionally that want of connexion in his ideas which no Persian prose-writer has, I believe, yet learnt to overcome. In my translation, however, I have allowed myself the use of no supplementary phrases, but have followed the original as closely as I could; and since I became blessed with the use of two manuscripts, have had no hesitation as to the true readings; except in the Arabic poetry, which neither of the copyists had any knowledge of, and have, therefore, both simultaneously made the grossest errors in its transcription.

My conjecture as to the true reading of the passage in Chap. 28 p. 160 I have since found to be just, by a perusal of the secon MS. lent me by Sir William Ouseley.

The Notes which I have added, mo particularly those on the poetical quotation will, I hope, be deemed of some utility. I might have made them at least interesting, and might have explained many of the author's statements, which are now passed over in silence, had I the common advantage of a small collection of the proper books. But from this I am precluded by the same fate, which attached itself to Sheikh Hazîn, who will be found seldom for any length of time remaining stationary on the same spot.

It has been my plan, in regard to the Oriental orthography, to mark the long vowels of almost every word; but not on all occasions: and for the consonants I have only to remark, that as far as practicable, I have distinguished the ك from the ق by writing K for the former and C for the latter.

It remains for me to return my thanks my learned and most kind friends Sir William Ouseley, and the Rev. Hen. Geo. one, for their great liberality in granting the use of their valuable manuscripts. The Chairman, Deputy-Chairmen, and Members of the Oriental Translation Committee will, I trust, vote them thanks more honorary and gratifying than mine, and I humbly beg leave, in the hope of that accomplishment, to record, in this place, the benefit by them conferred.

CORRECTIONS.

Page	line				
2	19	for	southern	read	south-west.
—	20		Adzerbeijan		Azerbâïjân.
—	29		Beggar's Wallet		Beggar's Bowl.
97	5		Ammân		Ommân.
99	10		Do.		Do.
109	9		إشتد		آشتد
171	9		Nadr.		Nadhr or Nazr.
172	19		cypher		cipher.
174	26		Nadr		Nadhr or Nazr.
211	5		transparent		reflected.
—	7-8		Whilst I ———,		How shall I ——— ?

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In the name of God, the merciful and commiserating, whose help we implore,

Whom we praise, whose fear we pray him to imbue us with, holding steadily by the most firm hold *of his religion*, and offering up our prayers for our Lord, his Elect, *Mohammed*, and his family, the standards of direction.

Lines.[1]

Where is our power of speech, *O God!* for the utterance of thy encomium?

How can we describe the perfection of thy greatness?

Poor and empty-handed, we are destitute of means:

The soul alone, which *thou* hast given us, can we offer in redemption of our duties.

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[1] ياراي زبان كو كه ثناي تو كنيم
توصيف كمال كبمرياي تو كنيم
چيزي به بساط ما تهي دهقان نيست
جاني كه تو دادهٔ فداي تو كنيم

Bisat is commonly used for the *board* or *counter*, on which

Whereas the gain of experience is the choicest fruit and most valuable acquisition, that mankind can obtain on the stage of the creation; and a multitude hence of learned men, fully sensible of the value of their time, have consumed a portion of their lives in the composition of books of history, and in the accurate description of the turns both of good and bad conduct, of prosperous and adverse fortune: and whereas from the revision of events and incidents, as they fall to the lot of the various orders of men in the diversity of their degrees, an infinite number of benefits may be reaped, I have been induced to think, after an attentive and true observation of a life, which I have spent in wandering and perplexity, that the chronicle of my days may not be void

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goods are exposed to sale. The literal translation of the third verse is, *There is nothing on the ware-board of us empty-handed.* In the fourth verse there is a beautiful emphasis on the pronoun تو which is not easily perceptible in an English version, our pronouns being always expressed, and never understood as they usually are in Persian. *Fida* is often rendered *sacrifice.*

of interest and warning example to the diligent inspector. In the narration of other men's circumstances and adventures, the historian frequently, from various causes, may fall into doubt and confusion: but there is no danger of either, when he confines himself to the explanation of his own affairs. I was therefore desirous, as far back as the rapidity of each event, which has passed over me, and the sudden change of the circumstances, which surrounded me, have left any impression on my memory, to describe the traces of my recollections with compendious brevity, in such manner, that neither the length of my discourse, nor any vain embellishments of style, may entail weariness or impatience on the judicious enquirer; but that in the description may be found both a memorial of my history for my existing friends, and a code of examples for successive agents. It is my hope from the kindness of those who shall look into it, that they will do so with tenderness and mercy, and that they will grant their aid in prayer for the forgiveness

of the sins of the poor and unfortunate writer. "Lord, favour us from thy presence with mercy, and afford us thy saving guide in our affairs."[1]

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[1] رَبَّنَا آتِنَا مِن لَّدُنكَ رَحْمَةً وَهَيِّئْ لَنَا مِنْ أَمْرِنَا رَشَدًا

Coran, chap. xviii. 10. *O Lord, grant us mercy from before thee, and dispose our business for us to a right issue.* Sale, vol. ii. p. 108.

THE LIFE

OF

SHEIKH MOHAMMED ALI HAZIN.

CHAPTER I.

The Author's Ancestry.

I, a suppliant to the giver of all good gifts, Mohammed, called Ali, am the son of Abo Talib, son of Abd Allah, son of Jemal Eddin Ali, son of Ata Allah, son of Ismail, son of Is-hac, son of Nor Eddin, son of Mohammed, son of Shehab Eddin, son of Ali, son of Ali, son of Yacob, son of Abd Elwahid, son of Shems Eddin Mohammed, son of Ahmed, son of Mohammed, son of Jemal Eddin Ali, son of the most illustrious Sheikh, and model of the learned, Taj Eddin Ibrahim, known by the title of the Gilan Hermit—God sanctify their souls, and close in me their race with the best of seals! One of my ancestors, Sheikh Shehab Eddin Ali, having quitted the town of ASTA, the home and burial place of the Great Sheikh, took up his abode at the seat of government, LAHIJAN, the

handsomest town of Gilan;[1] and from that time forward Lahijan was the permanent dwelling of my ancestors. My grandfather, *Sheikh Jemal Eddin*, son of Ata Allah, was one of the most distinguished scholars of his time. Ahmed Khan, king of Gilan, out of regard for his ability, did his utmost to honour him, and took several degrees of science at his instruction. Going to the royal residence of Cazvin, my grandfather gained access to the Sheikh Jalil Beha Eddin Mohammed of Aumul,[2] (God have mercy on his soul!) and formed a perfect intimacy with him; so that in his *Elucidation of the Miracle of the Mearaj*, or *Ascent of the Prophet*, one of my grandfather's sublimest investigations, he has taken occasion in the opening of that treatise to mention his companionship with the holy Sheikh. Of his compositions, one

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[1] *Gilan* is one of the northern provinces of Persia, on the southern shore of the Caspian sea. It is bounded on the west by Adzerbeijan, on the east by Khorasan. Its capital Lahijan is at a short distance from the sea, the port of which is *Resht*.

[2] A Persian mathematician, who lived in the reign of Shah Abbas the Great. He was celebrated among his countrymen for a supposed peculiar power which he possessed over the magi and writers of talismans, and was one of the most pious devotees of his time. His works on various subjects are much read in Persia, particularly one entitled كشكول Kashkool, or the *Beggar's Wallet*, being an universal miscellany of literature.

is, an *Explanation* or *Commentary in Persian* on the *Kolliat* of the *Canon*,[1] which he wrote at the desire of Khan Ahmed Khan; another is, an *Epistle* or *Treatise* on the *Confirmation of a Necessary Being*, (that is, the Proof of a Divine Existence,) from which performance the magnitude of his learning may be computed; further, a *Treatise on the Solution of Obscurities in the Section of Surds or Solids* (a Treatise on Algebra). The last two compositions, in his own handwriting, I saw myself in the library of my learned father, on whose tomb be the earth light! Further, an extensive *Commentary* on the *Fisos*,[2] or *Gems* of Fārābi, &c. Having completed his studies under the Lord of Investigators, Amir Fakhr Eddin of Samak of Asterabad, he felt an inclination to the composition of poetry, and assumed the poetical surname of Wahdat, or Unity. In truth his verses are the production of a true lover of the muses, and are incomparable for the chastity and elegance of their composition. I have seen a Divan[3] of

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[1] The *Canon* is the Medical Part of the Encyclopædia of Science called *Shafa*, and compiled by Avisena. The *Kolliat* is the sum of the aphorisms or principles contained in the Canon.

[2] The *Fisos* is a philosophical treatise, the author of which was a native of Farab in the province of Fars.

[3] A *Divan* is a collection of fugitive pieces of poetry, generally odes.

his, containing two thousand couplets, of which the following are a specimen,[1]

It is good that friendship produce some effect;
That the beloved have some feeling for the lover.
My heart is gone to the fire temple of Love, and returns not;
It would return, had it wings and feathers *unburnt*.
We are exhausted and dead with fatigue in counting the stars and planets:
Should not the night of separation be relieved by the dawn of day?

These lines are also his,[2]

I have consumed my heart in the fire under the arch of my beloved's eyelids;

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[1] خوبست محبت اثري داشته باشد
معشوق زعاشق خبري داشته باشد
دل رفت باتشکدهٔ عشق و نیامد
می آید اگر بال و پري داشته باشد
مردیم زبس ثابت و سیاره شمردیم
آیا شب هجران سحري داشته باشد

Atishkadah is a temple of the Magi or worshippers of fire in Persia, to which the lover is supposed to be drawn to worship the flame of his affection. In the fifth verse his inability to sleep is intimated by his occupation of counting the stars during the night.

[2] دل‌را بطاق ابروي جانانه سوختیم

I have burnt the lamp of the Kaba in the temple of my Idol.
Wahdat, in what state art thou, that sleep carries not away thy senses to forgetfulness?
We have exhausted our very source of breath in telling thee tales to amuse thy watchfulness.

His offspring was limited to one son, *Sheikh Abd Allah*, who having acquired the various sciences from his father, became endowed with a character of piety and of abstinence from worldly pleasures. Content with but a small part of the income and possessions he inherited, the remainder he expended on his friends and the necessitous. By him were left three sons, Sheikh Ata Allah, Sheikh Abo Talib, and Sheikh Ibrahim. The eldest of the three, *Sheikh Ata Allah*, who ranked as the first of the learned men of that country in jurisprudence and sacred history, and

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قندیل کعبه‌را بصنم خانه سوختیم
وحدت چه حالتست که خوابت نمیبرد
ما خود نفس زکفتن افسانه سوختیم

The قندیل کعبه being much of the same shape is used metaphorically for the heart of the lover. The *Kaba* is the square temple at Mecca dedicated to the worship of the true God, and is opposed to the *Sanam Khana* or Temple for idolatrous worship, wherein the lover pays his devotions to the idol of his heart.

In the third verse the lover is addressed by the persons supposed to be watching with him and endeavouring to amuse him with romantic tales, till he fall asleep.

was in a high degree eminent for his devotion and his frequency in divine worship, died at an advanced age without children. *Sheikh Ibrahim*, the youngest of the brothers and a clever man in business, was possessed of high parts and an acute genius. Having taken the usual degrees of science, he rose to the first rank of his contemporaries. He wrote exceeding well in seven different forms[1] of penmanship, and imitated the writing of the masters in the art with such nicety, that it was difficult to distinguish between the copy and the original. Having written out the *Sacred Volume* (Alcoran) and the *Sahifah Kamilah*,[2] with interpretations, he sent them to my father in Isphahan, and from him I received them as a present. The fine writers of the greatest reputation in that city were much benefited by the sight of them. In epistolary composition and belles-lettres his ability was perfect. His productions in this department

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[1] The seven forms of penmanship are 1st, The ثُلث or *Thirds*, 2ndly, The نسخ or *Copy*, 3rdly, The تعليق or *Suspension*, 4thly, The نستعليق or *Mixed*, 5thly, The شكسته or *Broken*, 6thly, The سياق or *Account*, 7thly, The رقاع or *Gross*. The third and fourth are commonly called The *Talik* and The *Nastalik*.

[2] The صحيفه كامله is a prayer-book in Arabic, written by the Imam Zein Alaabidin.

are celebrated, and are copied into the portfolios of the connoisseurs. In poetry and the style of allegory and enigma his taste was true. Sometimes he delighted in composing verses; and these few couplets are his:[1]

For wine we have the blood of my heart; ask none from the flask:
Pearls drop from my weeping eyes; seek none from the sea.
It is idle to wander after Leila like Majnoon in the desert;
What you can find in your own breast, seek not in the wilds and forests.

Quatrain.[2]

In the rose-garden of time was no confidant for my secret;
In the temporal banquet was no performer for my melody.
Secretly it is impossible to modulate:
I held my tongue as there was none to accompany my voice.

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[1] باده خون جگر ماست زمینا مطلب
گوهر از چشم تر ماست زدریا مطلب
پي ليلي نتوان كشت چو مجنون در دشت
آنچه در سينه توان يافت بصحرا مطلب

In the third verse نتوان has not the usual meaning *it is impossible*, but is employed in the sense of *it would be idle* or *foolish*.

[2] در كلشن دهر محرم راز نبود
در بزم زمانه نغمه پرداز نبود
پنهان نتوان زمزمه پردازي كرد
بستيم زبان كسي هم آواز نبود

These verses are written in the allegorical sense of Sofyism,

I was yet in my childhood, when arriving with my father at Lahijan I had the happiness to enjoy the company of my estimable uncle; and in truth, whether for excellence of qualities, or purity of morals; cheerfulness of temper, or brilliancy of conversation, I have, to the present day, seen few to compare with him. Ten years before my revered father he passed to the divine mercy in Lahijan, leaving a son named Sheikh Mofid, and two daughters. After a little time the son also died in the bud of youth.

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for an account of which see the works of Sir Wm. Jones and Sir John Malcolm's History of Persia.

CHAPTER II.

Short history of the Author's father.—His wonderful powers of penmanship.—His admirable rectitude of conduct and surprising assiduity in divine worship.

My father, at the age of twenty, having obtained a knowledge of most of the objects of science under the learned Mawla (Judge) Molla Hasan, Sheikh Al Islam (Chief Judge) of Gilan, was seized with a desire to visit the learned men of Irak, and repaired to Isphahan. Here, in the college of that master of the learned, Aga Hossein of Khonsar,[1] on whom be mercy! the memory of whose excellences and virtues is so well known that it requires no revelation, he applied to his studies; and having become a proficient in mathematics under the tuition of the Ptolemy of his age, the learned Mawla Mohammed Rafia, known by the title of Rafiai Yezdi, he advanced so deeply in reading and disputation, as but few students have the facility of doing, and till the end of his life continued steadily in the same course. A numerous crowd of his contemporaries arrived at a high degree of knowledge by the blessing of his instruction. In his library

[1] *Hossein Khonsari* was one of the celebrated philosophers of Persia, surnamed from his birth place *Khonsar*, a town between Teheran and Kashan.

were more than five thousand volumes, and not a single book of science passed under his eye, which he did not correct and verify from beginning to end, illustrating the greatest part of them with marginal notes. About eighty volumes, among them, The Explanation of Beidawi,[1] The Camos Elloghat,[2] The Sharh Lumaah,[3] the whole of the Tahzib Hadis,[4] and similar books, he copied out with his own hand. He used to say, that repeatedly in a day and a night he would pen a thousand couplets and more. His writing was exceeding beautiful and clear. I have heard him say, that his father was still living, when he went to Isphahan, and fearing he should fix his abode in that city he sent him no more money than was sufficient for his necessary expenditure, and that at different times in the course of the year, so that he had not the means which he wanted for the purchase of books, and copied many of them himself. At his father's death, which occurred not long after, he banished all thoughts of returning

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[1] *Beidawi*, Cadi of Beida, a small town of Fars, wrote a commentary on the Coran, called *Tefsir*.

[2] The *Camos Elloghat* is an Arabic Dictionary compiled by *Firozabadi*, a learned man so called from his birth-place *Firozabad*, a town of Fars.

[3] A celebrated book on Mohammedan Law according to the Shia sect.

[4] A Purification, or Explanation of Traditions by *Allamah* of *Hillah*.

to Lahijan, and having bought a house at Isphahan, he added to its size and conveniences. Setting out for Hijaz by the way of Syria, he had the honour to make his procession round the holy House of God (the temple of Mecca). On his journey homewards through Bagdad he spent some time in visiting the holy sepulchres of Irak. Returned to Isphahan, he was favoured with the friendship and intimacy of one of the native inhabitants of that town, Hajji Inayat Allah, a religious and most excellent man, who gave him his daughter in marriage. His offspring was limited to four sons, the eldest of whom is this humble individual. Of my three brothers one died in his infancy; the other two in the vigour of their youth.

Should I enter into a description of the admirable qualities, the perfect morals, the sublimity of mind and disposition, the strength of genius, and the accomplishment of the wisdom and knowledge of my venerable father, my discourse would be drawn to prolixity, and I might be exposed not improbably to the charge of exaggeration and insincerity. Of the whole circle of sciences there was not one, wherein his subtlety was not perfect; and yet he had none of the pride of knowledge, which is usual among the learned, but shewed politeness and affability towards the lowest and humblest of his students. Though the length of his life was passed in disputation and instruction,

he ever most cautiously shunned the smallest literary contention, holding the habit in abhorrence; and I have never seen any learned man, that was equal to him in fairness of exposition and florid openness of temper. The sublimity of his soul was such, that in the sight of his intention the world was not of the value of a handful of dust. He never turned his thoughts to the acquisition of wealth or worldly rank, though their full possession was a matter of facility even to the negligent pursuit of the humblest of his pupils. In his temperament there was no anxiety for aggrandizement or bodily ease. I have sometimes heard him say, that the morsel of lawful bread, which the supplier of sustenance to his servants had apportioned to his lot, sufficed for him, and that even should the motive for worldly gain be the support of others and its distribution to the needy, yet it is seldom if ever obtained without debasing a believing soul. According to him, the height of generosity was to renounce and turn away the eyes from every thing, that is in the hands of other men. He never shewed any eagerness for the friendship of the lords of fortune; but rather maintained a haughty deportment towards the princes and great men in power, who were united to him in affection and treated him with the utmost attention to politeness. His devotion to God and his religious scrupulousness were carried to such a degree, that in the course of five-and-

twenty years which I passed with him, I never saw a single act of his that was hateful in the eye of the law.[1] After the midnight hour, in whatever state of body he might be, whether of health or sickness, I never found him on the bed of repose. Six or seven years before his death, overcome by his inclination to solitude and retirement, he broke off his public lectures and conversations. No longer walking the circuit of domestic duties, but abandoning all authority and management to me, he would sometimes be employed in

[1] در شرع مکروه To understand the force of this expression it is requisite to be informed, that many things are considered by the Mahometans as odious and reprehensible, which are not absolutely forbidden by their law and declared to be حرام, nor yet released by it from doubt and suspicion and pronounced حلال. The Coran for instance, expressly prohibits blood as a meat,

إنما حرم عليكم الميتة والدم

and therefore great care is taken by the Moslems to make the blood flow from the victims destined for their food. As this cannot be done in creatures, which have no flow of blood, or none visible, no دم سايله, such as shell-fish, their use as food is of questionable legality, and though not decidedly حرام would be regarded by a scrupulous Moslem as at least suspicious and therefore مکروه. The Sheikh's father, in the strictness of his Mahometan principles, would not for the world have indulged himself with a relish of prawns or lobster, and rather would have deprived himself of his beef-steak for ever, than consent to eat it with oyster-sauce.

reading, most frequently in weeping and lamentation. His nights he passed mostly in prayer; and speaking to no one more than was necessary, he was displeased that any one should idly speak to him.

In the year one thousand one hundred and twenty-seven of the Hejra, (A.D. 1715.) at the age of nine-and-sixty, his maladies became violent, and weakness prevailed over him. On the morning of the day, in the forenoon of which he died, sending for me, he committed to me the charge of his survivors, and recommended them to my kindness and beneficence. *In like manner as you have given satisfaction to me*, said my father, *may God be satisfied with you. My last commandment to you is this, that, however much the postures of the world be unsuited to the eye of your desire, or the times fall discordant on your ear, you never resign your will to meanness, nor consent to follow in the tail of slavish obedience. This short life is not worth such debasement. If you have the choice, make no longer stay in Isphahan. It were meet, that some one of our race should survive.* At that time I did not comprehend this part of his address, nor till after some years, when the disturbance and ruin of Isphahan took place. He added: *On holy days and nights, as far as your means will allow you, and you have the facility of doing, forget me not.*[1] A few hours afterwards,

[1] The meaning of this injunction to our author was, that as far as his means enabled him, he should fulfil the Mohammedan rite of bestowing alms on certain festivals for the soul of his

he departed to the world of perpetuity, and was interred in the cemetery called Mazār[1] Baba Rukn Eddin, close to the tomb of the learned divine Mawlana Hasān of Gilan, God pour upon him the streams of his mercy and forgiveness, and place him an inhabitant of the gardens of paradise! I here transcribe a few couplets of an elegy which I wrote at his decease:[2]

The Sphere, Bright Truth! is deprived by thy death of its purity:
Its transparent quality no longer remains to the empty glass.
Adorner of the meadow of life! thy cherishing hand is no sooner withdrawn from me,
Than I am become, like the willow of Majnoon, a parable for the distracted mourner.
Thou art departed in the fullness of age, and I through grief for thee am old;

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father. This pious custom, however destitute of profit to the departed spirit of the parent, is replete with benefit to the famished bodies of the poor, to whom the alms on such occasions are distributed; and proves by its cordial observance the filial affection of the survivor.

[1] *Mazar* means *a place of visitation*, the tombs of pious men being constantly visited and made the altars of their prayer by the Mohammedans.

[2] سپهر از مرکت اي صاف حقيقت بي صفا کشته
نمي ماند بسر کيفيتي ميناي خالي را
کشيدي تا زمن دست نوازش اي چمن پيرا
مثل چون بيد مجنون کشته ام آشفته حالي را
تو در پيرانه سر رفتي و من هم در غمت پيرم

But my woe bears me back every moment to the remembrance of my infancy *fostered by thy care.*

Whilst I beheld thee, Throne of Sublimity! towering unbidden on the earth,

I knew not that the humble soil could close up a high mountain.

Since thou hast broken asunder the bands of the bodily volume,

There remains in the world no model for the incomparable.

From a body of inward fire I have a heart inflated with sighs;

My mind no longer yields to the task of composing empty verses.

بحسرت میکنم هر لحظه یاد خرد سالي‌را
نهان اي عرش رفعت تا ندیدم در دل خاکت
ندانستم که پوشد خاك سافل کوه عالي‌را
کسستي تا زهم شیرازهٔ تالیف جسماني
مثالي نیست در عالم هویدا بیمثالي را
بدل آه رسائي دارم از مجموعهٔ آتش
زخاطر برده‌ام یکباره مصرعهاي خالي را

In the fourth verse, the مجنون بید or *weeping willow of Majnoon,* an Eastern lover, perpetually celebrated in Persian romance, is alluded to as a metaphor of a downcast and agitated mourner. Of the last verse but one the literal interpretation would be, *I have in my heart a fitness* or *fullness of sighs* arising as a vapour *from a body of fire collected* and nourished by sorrow.

CHAPTER III.

The Author's birth.—His surprising powers of memory.—His love for composition in prose and verse.—Mention of some eminent scholars of that time.

THE summary of my own history and circumstances is as follows: My birth happened on Monday the twenty-seventh of Rabia Elakhir, in the year one thousand one hundred and three of the Hejra (A.D. 1692.) in the royal residence of Isphahan, and I still remember some things which passed whilst I was yet at my mother's breast. When I came to the fourth year of my age, I was appointed to instruction by my father. At that time the eminent Mawla, *Molla Shah Mohammed* of Shiraz, on whom be mercy! who was one of the most learned men of his contemporaries, arrived at Isphahan; and one day that he was a guest at my father's house, they set me before him for the auspicious commencement of my education under his blessed tuition. The Mawla, after the Bismillah, made me repeat three times the following verses: *Lord, expand my breast, and lighten my work, and loose the knot from my*

tongue, that they may understand my speech.[1] Then he read the Fatiha[2] and caressed me. In two years' time I was capable of plain reading and writing, and took an extraordinary inclination to study. No occupation was more desirable to me than to read and write, and I perused many Persian books both in prose and verse. Being put to learn Grammar and Etymology I soon acquired them; and was taught some treatises of Logic. This science I took a particular affection to, and obtained an accurate knowledge of it. The master, who taught me, was surprised at my acuteness and alacrity, and by his approbation increased my ardour still more. From poetry my well adjusted mind received great delight, and I was much given to compose verses, but concealed this circumstance for some time. At length my master discovered it, and forbad me this pursuit. My father also did all in his power to divert me from it. Being unable however at once to change

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[1] رَبِّ اشْرَحْ لِي صَدْرِي وَيَسِّرْ لِي أَمْرِي وَاحْلُلْ عُقْدَةً مِنْ لِسَانِي يَفْقَهُوا قَوْلِي Cor. xx. 17.

Lord, enlarge my breast, and make what thou hast commanded me easy unto me: and loose the knot of my tongue, that they may understand my speech. Sale, vol. ii. p. 135.

[2] The *Fâtiha* is the first chapter of the Coran and is held in peculiar veneration by the Mohammedans, who repeat it in their devotions, as we do the Lord's Prayer.

my turn of mind, I wrote whatever occurred to me, and kept it secret.

"When I was eight years of age, my father ordered me to be instructed in the proper reading of the Coran, which I studied two years under the Mawla, *Melek Hossein*, a reader of Isphahan, and an excellent man, who in that art was distinguished among his contemporaries; and having perused some treatises on the subject, and completed this course of study, I was fitted to delight the ear with the beauty of my recitation. My learned father, out of the great desire he had for my improvement, gave me some instruction himself, and I read with him *Jami's Explanation on The Kafich*, *Nazzam on The Shafieh*,[1] *The Tahdzib* and *Commentary on The Isa Goji*,[2] *The Sharh Shemsieh*,[3] *Notes on Elocution and Logic*, *A Commentary on the Guide to Salvation*, *The Hikmet Alaain* or *Pure Wisdom*,[4] *Notification and Compendium of Rhetoric*, *The Tamam Motavval*, or *The Whole Treatise at Length*, *The Maani Ellibib*,[5] *The Jafirieh*,[6] *The Mukhtasar Nafia*,[7] *The Irshad*,[8]

[1] *Shafieh* and *Kafieh* are the same as *Sarf* and *Nahv*, that is the Accidents and Syntax of Grammar.

[2] Thus the Persians write in two words Porphyry's Εἰσαγωγὴ or *Introduction to Logic*.

[3] Explication of Logic.

[4] A Book on Theology.

[5] Arabic Grammar.

[6] A Treatise on Law.

[7] A Compendium of Jurisprudence.

[8] Law Directory.

Ways and Ordinances in Law, Every Man his own Lawyer,[1] *Fundamental Precepts of Law*, and some other writings. My father also in my tender years conducted me to the learned in truth and science, the model of generous seniors, *Sheikh Khalil Allah* of Talcan,[2] God sanctify his soul! who at that time was one of the retired hermits of that country, and intreated him to instruct and guide me. I attended him near three years, and though I read no particular book with him, yet every day he would give me a proposition or question on paper written with his own hand, and instruct me upon it: but it did not appear from what book the passage was taken. On the correction and sanctification of my defective soul he bestowed so much attention and diligence, that my tongue is unequal to their expression, and my heart incapable of gratitude for the benefits and obligations conferred on me by that truly ingenious man. Indeed were not my ability deficient, it would ever be employed in carrying my blessings upon the instructions and exhortations of that great man to the height, which they merit. He was one of the greatest and most learned doctors, and a congregator of sciences both manifest and secret. Should I attempt to give only a slight account of

[1] من لا يحضره الفقيه در حديث literally *For him who has no Lawyer to attend him.*

[2] Talcan is a town in the province of Gilan.

the qualities and excellences, the conversations and studies, the regulation of the time and manner of life of that exalted person, my discourse would swell to a book. I will merely add, that being himself possessed of an adapted genius, and taking occasional delight in composing verses, he soon perceived my inclination to poetry, and so far from forbidding or opposing it, he sometimes commanded me to recite any thing that I had composed; and from his jewel-dropping mouth was uttered my dedication to the Muses by the title of *Hazin*.[1] The following quatrain is from the poems of that model of generosity:[2]

O Tyrant! come and take thy seat in the heart of a Dervish:
Mine of Salt! Settle on my wounded heart.

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[1] تخص بنفظ حزين This it is extremely difficult to render into English. The close of an ode is termed in Arabic خلاص *liberation* or *finishing*, and is always effected by a sort of farewell address to the poet himself by his adopted poetical title, such as حافظ, سعدي, جامي, هنر, &c. called his تخص. The celebrated Persian poets are known by no other name, and our Sheikh Mohammed Ali accordingly is simply called *Hazin*.

As the continual repetition of the word *poetry* would be tedious, I have instead of it occasionally used *Muses*, though this term is foreign to the Persian style. In speaking on this subject the Persians and Arabs have the advantage of a variety of forms of the same word شعر, اشعار, شعور.

ايشوخ بيا در دل درويش نشين
كان نمكي بر جگر ريش نشين

On thy desertion my lap is become a rose-garden.
Sit one moment by the side of thy plantation.

About that time the Sheikh departed to the mercy of God, and my father consigned me to the instruction of the eminent scholar, *Sheikh Beha Eddin* of Gilan, who had been a pupil of the lord of philosophers, Mir Cavvam, on whom be mercy! and lived in retirement, devoting himself to the study of the extrinsic and speculative sciences. With him I studied some time, and read a number of books in the various departments of knowledge, among which I may mention several treatises on the Astrolabe, and a *Commentary of Chaghmini*.[1] Being directed by my father to read books of Ethics, and meeting every day a company of beginners in this course of study, I passed a portion of my time in disputation[2] with them, and

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در هجر تو دامنم گلستان شده است
یکدم بکنار کشتهٔ خویش نشین

In Persian Poetry the quality of salt is equivalent to sweetness, and a mine of salt to the source of the sweets of love. *My lap is become a rose-garden* means, that in consequence of the flight of the beloved, the bloody tears of the lover, shed through the eyes from his heart, have strewed his lap with rose-coloured spots like flowers: and on the edge of this *parterre, bekanare kishteh*, he invites his mistress to sit.

[1] A celebrated Astronomer.

[2] مباحثه *discussion* or *disputation* is the word commonly

repeated before them, whatever I had committed to memory. The Almighty bestowed a blessing and an ease of heart on this season of my life, and notwithstanding the multiplicity of my occupations, still my leisure was not disagreeably straitened; but so restless and so much on the alert was I held by my love of disputation and reading, that I had no regard for sensual pleasures. Repeatedly, by my excessive lucubrations at night, the concern of my parents was excited. They exhorted and intreated me to go to rest, but in vain. What I did not learn at lecture I read in private, and committing it to memory I used to ask my father the difficult passages. But few indeed of the most studious scholars have found the means of perusing the quantity of various books and treatises of fixed science, which in a short space of time passed under my view. I had nevertheless an abundant affection for the worship and service of God, and took wonderful delight therein, keeping with lively devotion the holy days and nights and seasons, and being assiduous in the repetition of the appointed invocations. Not many even of the supererogatory acts of devotion and practical traditions were neglected by me; and so bright was the ray of soft warmth

used for *teaching* and *giving lectures* in opposition to مطالعه and استفاده *reading*, *learning*, and *attending lectures*.

in my heart,[1] and so full the gay expansion of my bosom, that it is impossible for me to describe my state, as it then was. What I here say is by privilege of the proverb: *The commemoration of former blessings is the possession of the wretched.*[2] Alas, alas! how little I thought that my circumstances would draw to this destitution, and deadness of heart, and cold faintness, to which they are now declined; or that it would become necessary to adapt my palate to all this bitterness, and heart-melting poison of disappointment.

Poetry.[3]

Whilst I breathed in the silent night of repose, a lotion assailed me
From the serpent, in whose teeth is a penetrating poison.

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[1] دل را طرفه رقّتی literally, *in my heart was an unparalleled softness of feeling.*

[2] ذكر النعم من بضايع المساكين Our author quotes this proverb to shew, that his subsequent wretchedness entitled him to the full enjoyment of the ideal happiness, derived from the recollection of past blessedness; and that his commemoration of the benefits, with which providence had favoured him, during a youth passed in the fervour of religious devotion, is not to be attributed to a boastful disposition, or exaggerated pretensions.

[3] وَبِتُّ بِلَيْلٍ سَاوَرَتْنِي غَسِيلَةٌ
مِنَ ٱلرَّقْشِ فِي أَنْيَابِهَا ٱلسُّمُّ نَاقِعُ

Literally, *And I passed a night, when a lotion* or *dirty wash assailed me*, &c.

My boundless grief, and the affliction that wounds my soul, is this, that for the few breaths of life, which may remain to me, there is no hope of better-being, nor of raising up the gale of my desire.

Lines.[1]

Where is the season of spring, that I may satiate my desire of wine?
That, like the rose-bush, I may bring out the cup from my patched habit.

How truly spoke the Commander of the Faithful (Ali), upon whom be the salutation of peace! when he said: *Be cautious in the establishment of your prosperity, for it is not every thing which is fugitive, that ever returns.*[2]

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[1] کو فصل بهاریکه زمی کام بر آرم
چون شاخ کن از خرقهٔ خود جام بر آرم

Wine is here spoken of in a mystic sense, and is understood of the inebriation of religious fervour, which can be quaffed only by the rosy lips of youth, and enjoyed in no other season, than the brisk spring time of life.

خرقه *Khircah* is the religious habit of the Mohammedan friar, which, being made up of patches, gives to the wearer somewhat of the appearance of the rose-bush, covered with its leaves.

[2] أَحْذَرُوا قِرَارَ النِّعَمِ فَمَا كُلُّ شَارِدٍ بِمَرْدُودٍ

which means, *Secure, if you can, the permanency of your happiness, for few things, that are transient, ever return, when once past.*

Lines.[1]

Tranquillity is a thing, which comes not to my heart:
My time of life is not such, that I can even desire it.

About the same period, by the blessing of the fear of God and my religious scrupulousness, granted me from heaven, I felt some perplexity and perturbation with regard to the Treatises of Derivative Practice, wherein are subjects of dispute among theologians, and my mind was not at ease on the decisions of the lawyers and the practice of the vulgar. I entered therefore deeply into this subject, and having made myself acquainted with the root and origin of the traditions, I studied many of the writings on *The Purification of the Judgements* by Sheikh Tosi, in the lecture-room of that industrious scholar *Aga Hadi*, son and successor to Mawlana Mohammed Salih of Mazenderan, upon whom be mercy! and looking into the authors of Traditions, and their allegations of authority, I referred to the books, whence the theologians draw their proofs. Having examined into their methods of deducing answers, I passed my view over the books of derivative rules of law: and bestowing abundant diligence on this matter, I obtained the peace of mind which my means afforded, on all the questions that oc-

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آسایش است آنچه بخاطر نمیرسد
آن روزگار نیست که این آرزو کنیم

curred to me, and on which I had to act. In regard, especially, to the confliction of opinion and want of correctness of some of the Muftis, which are a stumbling to the feet and a cause of perplexity; I gained to a certain degree my freedom from pure imitation.

At those times, after midnight, when my father arose, I used to read to him, before he engaged in his supererogatory acts of devotion, the *Tefsir Safi*,[1] one of the compositions of the pious and learned Mawla, Mohammed Mahsan of Kashan, and completed its perusal. Notwithstanding my devotedness to study, and the variety of my daily occupations, I was fond of frequenting the society of clever and ingenious men, and mixed in a company of that class. One day in my father's house, a number of clever men were assembled together, and I also was desired to join them. In the midst of their discourse on various topics, one of them recited this couplet of Molla Mohtashim of Kashan:[2]

O thou, in whose toil is the form of the tall of stature!
Grace being a creation of thy lofty figure!

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[1] Clear Exposition.

[2] اي قامت بلند تو در كند قدّان
رعنائي آفريدهٔ قدّ بلند تو

After اي understand تو كه and at the end of the hemistich

Of which when some of the company had expressed their entire approbation, my father said: *I have seen the Diran of Mohtashim, and he is a cópious and masterly poet: but this stile is without salt, and he has not that degree of sweetness, which might atone for it, though saltness in stile is more pungent and always perhaps more agreeable to the taste than sweetness; as may appear from this his opening verse. The second hemistich only is right: the first is not conformable to nature; for to say* the form is fallen into a toil *is absurd. Were the word* "form" *away, and you said,* "O thou in whose toil are the tall of stature!" *the sentence would be proper and agreeable.* The company acknowledged, what he said, as true. Then turning to me: *I know,* said he, *that you have not yet abandoned poetry. If you can compose us a couplet in the same kind of ode, do so.* At that instant, an opening verse came into my mind, and as his look again fell upon me, he comprehended, that I had thought of something, and he said: *If you have composed any thing, recite it, and do not be ashamed.* I said aloud this beginning of an ode:[1]

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supply است, as also after رعنائي. The substantive قد is governed in the genitive by the participle آفريدهٔ *a thing created of.*

[1] صيد از حرم كشد خم جعد بلند تو
فرياد از نطاوں مشكين كمند تو

The ringlet of thy high curling lock draws the chase from the sacred enclosure;
Alas the tyranny of thy dark musky noose!

The company moved from their places, and burst into applause. Whilst they were uttering their commendations, another couplet came into my mind, and I repeated :[1]

From thy coming thither, the streets, where dwell thy lovers, are made the envy of Mount Sinai:
Sit down, that the bruised particles of our souls may be burnt for thee, as a perfume against malignancy.

Upon this my learned father also praised me, and said, that what he had denied to be in the poetry of Molla Mohtashim, was found in this couplet. I recited another :[2]

My heart's affair through love is become difficult, and I am pleased :
Perhaps it may prove agreeable to your difficultly pleased mind.

The *sacred enclosure* means the territory of *Mecca*, within which it is unlawful to hunt or fowl.

[1] شد رشك طور از آمدنت كوي عاشقان
بنشين كه باد خردهٔ جانها سپند تو

Sipand is properly *wild rue*, which being pounded small is used as a fumigation against malignant eyes, supposed to be peculiarly hurtful amidst the commendations of beauty: but the term is used generally for any perfume employed to the same end.

[2] مشكل شده است كار دل از عشق و خوشدلم
شايد رسد بخاطر مشكل پسند تو

In the same way, after a little consideration, I composed another couplet, and went on, till I had recited a complete ode. The company observed, that they had thought no one capable, at the present day, of composing verses in this unpremeditated manner, and my father said, *Now, I give you leave to cultivate the Muses, but not to such excess, as to waste your time:* and made me a present of his own pen-case to write down this ode.

Shortly afterwards a severe accident occurred to me, which produced a languid intermission in my affairs. It was the fullness of spring and delightful weather, when going out one day with a number of friends into the country, I put my horse to its speed, and the animal fell in its course. My right arm was fractured, and did not heal in less than a year, though I was attended and dressed by skilful surgeons. I suffered bitter affliction, and though after some time the pain ceased, still my arm was useless, and a mere burden to my neck. Being habituated to the use of the pen, I took it in my left hand, and managed to write. During this period of distress and sorrow, I composed a great number of verses. One of these poems was a Mesnavi called *Saki Namah*, the beginning of which was thus:[1]

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[1] The Lover hopes that the acknowledged perplexity of his love-affairs may suit the temper of his mistress, who delights in creating difficulties.

خدایا تونی آنکه از راز و بس

Thou alone, O God! art acquainted with secrets;
The pure-intentioned have their bliss from thee.
For me, inebriation and a corner in a wine-house:
For my liberty, the line of a cup.

The length of the poem was about one thousand couplets, and its composition elaborate and fervid. Thus I passed my time, till the Almighty granted me a recovery from disease and anguish, and my scattered senses inclined again to collectedness.

بهشت از تو دارند پاکان هوس
من و مستي و کنـج ميخانهٔ
بـآزادیـم خـط پـيـمـانهٔ

The third verse is literally, *I and drunkenness*, &c. meaning *All I wish for is*, &c. To comprehend the fourth, it must be borne in mind, that in granting emancipation to a slave, the Persians put into his hand a line of writing, in testimony thereof: and, as they affect to give a graceful curve to what they pen, such a line resembles the elliptical rim of a goblet, or of the wine in it, as usually beheld. The poet, in taking into his hand the wine-cup, regards himself, as ceasing to be a slave to the Law.

CHAPTER IV.

An Account of some of the eminent men of this epoch.

I WILL now describe some of the most eminent and learned men, whom I saw at Isphahan during my early youth, and who, within that period, passed to a better life. Among them was the excellent Mawla, *Mohammed Bakir Majlisi* of Isphahan, who was Sheikh Al Islam,[1] and one of the famous theologians and Shia Lawyers. There are some well known writings of his. Three or four times only I saw him. At the age of seventy-two, in one thousand one hundred and ten of the Hejra, he departed this life. Another, a distinguished Seyyid, *Mirza Aladdin Mohammed*, known by the surname of Gulistani, was a very learned and pious man, and perfectly intimate with my father. In pious exercises and study he was incessant, and has left notes of reference on the common law books. His life was past in tranquillity and honour, and about this time he died. His sons became defiled[2] by holding offices at

[1] This is the title given to the High Priest and Chief Judge, who presides over the administration of the law, in the large towns of the Mahometan dominions.

[2] By the Persians, it is esteemed a degrading contamination, for any person, connected with the religious orders of their country, to accept office under the king's government.

court, and lost the honour and reverence, which had been paid to their father. Another pious and learned man was the Sheikh *Jafar Cadzi*, who was one of the doctors of the town called Kamerah, and of the best scholars of that prince of teachers, Aga Hossein of Khonsar. He was possessed of the whole circle of arts and sciences, and his lectures were attended by a great crowd of the highest rank of literati. He lived in great honour and splendour, and having attained the office of Sheikh Al Islam, he discharged its important duties in a laudable manner. On account of his superior ability in state affairs, and in the forms of conversation and society, he received intimation of his intended appointment to the dignity of Grand Vezir; but some of the lords of the king's court, who aspired to that high office, used their endeavours to frustrate his good fortune, and diverted the Shah from his intention. The Sheikh died at an advanced age, and was buried near Hossein,[1] on whom be peace. As he lived on terms of perfect friendship and intimacy with my father, I several times had the opportunity of approaching him. Another, a younger brother of his, was *Sheikh Ali*, who also ranked among

[1] The tomb of *Hossein*, one of the sons of *Ali*, is at *Kerbela* in the neighbourhood of Bagdad. It is the ambition of the rich Shiites to leave wherewithal to defray the expence of their interment in this holy place.

the eminent men, and died a few years after him. Another, the Messiah of his time, was *Akhond Messihayi* of Kashan, a man who possessed every ornament of learning and accomplishments, had been a pupil and son in-law of Aga Hossein of Khonsar, and gained the admiration of all mankind by his good qualities and agreeable society. He composed much in verse, and has left elegant compositions in prose. His poetical name was *Sahib*. These few couplets are from him :[1]

The tie of your friendship is as the line of vision ;
You but wink your eye, and the thread is broken.

Also[2]

The nightingale describes to the rose thy beauty and sweetness :
The butterfly seeks thee by the torch-light.
That I may have a pretence for turning back,
I left my heart behind me, when I retired from thy street.

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[1] پیوند الفت تو چو تار نظاره است
تا چشم میزني بهم این رشته پاره است

[2] بلبل بگل نشان دهد از رنگ و بوي تو
پروانه با چراغ کند جستجوي تو
تا باشدم بهانهٔ از بهر بازگشت
دل‌را بجا گذاشته رفتم ز کوي تو

In the second verse با means *with*, or *near*, *at* ; as *by* in English means *through the means of*, or *by the side of*. The Eastern nations always live in rows, not exactly of houses, but of en-

He was employed in Isphahan till the hour of his death, in teaching and doing good. Another, Mawlana *Hajji Abo Torâb*, was of the excellent men of that period. He was an intimate friend of Mawlana Mohammed Bakir Majlisi. He employed himself in teaching divinity and law, and his legal decisions are depended on as authoritative. His life was spent in tranquillity, and he died in the same year as Mawlana Mohammed Bakir. I had the happiness to see him several times. His son *Hajji Abo Tâlib* was also a theologian, and died within a few years after his father. Another eminent man was Aga *Razi Eddin Mohammed*, son of the intelligent professor, Aga Hossein of Khonsar. He was a chaste scholar, possessing a most subtle genius, and great sublimity of thought. Under him a great number of the most eminent men had pursued their studies. He died in his youth. It was in my father's house that I had the advantage of beholding him. Another distinguished scholar was Mirza *Bakir Cadzi Zadeh*, one of the scientific men of his time, and possessed of a genius for poetry. As he dwelt in the district of Isphahan called Abbas Abad, he was known by the name of the Cadzi Zadeh, or Cadi's Son, of Abbas Abad. He was skilled in most of the sciences, and devoting himself to study, he regu-

closures; and therefore with them the word كوى *street*, has a nobler sound than with us, who partly calculate the dignity of a mansion, by its distance from every other.

lated his time with precision. Till the hour of his death, he was bound in friendship to my father. He took delight in the composition of poetry, and these verses are his :[1]

It is the season of the rose and of spring :
The rose-garden has the beauty and sweetness of my beloved.
Without thee, the moon-light night of melancholy lovers
Becomes dark, as the white blind eye.

Another was Mawlana *Shems Eddin Mohammed*, son of the excellent chief priest[2] Mawlana Mohammed

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[1] فصل گل و موسم بهرست
گلزار پرنگ و بوي يارست
بيتو شب مه نيرهٔ روران
جون چشم سفيد كشته نرست

گل *Gul* is used in Persian to signify, not only the *Rose*, but any flower of brilliant colours and fragrant odour. As, however, the word *flower* in English is of ambiguous meaning, it is more convenient to translate by *rose*. In the second couplet there is a *lusus verborum* between *the night of moon-shine*, the light of which is white but obscure, and the eye which has become white and dark, by the ossification caused by callous wear, incidental to the excessive strain of the lover's sight.

[2] مجتهد *Mojtahid*, سه في سبيل الله understood, *one who strives and contends even to battle in the cause of God*, is the term used to express the highest dignity in the Mohammedan faith, equivalent to Bishop or Archbishop with us.

It is wonderful how Sir J. Malcolm came to mistake this word, writing it *Mooshtáhed*, and translating it *the giver of evidence*, as though derived, it would puzzle any one to say how

Saaid of Gilan, who was an able man, and an acquirer[1] of accomplishments both apparent and ideal.[2] Having obtained a knowledge of most of the arts and sciences, he was overcome by a desire to follow *the method*[3] and a sober life; and being

with his spelling, from the Arabic verb شهد *to witness*, and not, as it is, from جهد *to labour and study*. He must have been led into the errour by some ignorant Monshi, whose pretended knowledge of Arabic was just enough to hinder his pupils from ever learning it aright. See his *History of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 442.

[1] جامع signifies *one collecting*, and I have preferred using this word in its literal sense, though, in allusion to the dignity of the Mawla's father, it might be taken in the meaning of *cathedral*, or *spiritual magazine*, the large مسجد or mosque, over which the Mojtahid is provost, being usually called by its concrete name, *Jámia*.

[2] The *apparent* (صوري) accomplishments or sciences are those which are taught by religion and philosophy, and are found with the *shape* (صورت) that has been given to them, in the published writings of theologians and mathematicians: the *ideal* (معنوي) are such as have not been expressed in writing, but are understood by the initiated to the extent of their peculiar powers of conception and meditation; and by the Persians are meant of the mystic doctrines of Sofyism.

The word in the text is سوك which is variously rendered, *path, road, institution, rule*. The Greek noun Μέθοδος, in English *Method*, being a compound of Ὁδός, a *Way*, and signifying a *Cross-path* or *Short Road*, appeared to me to comprise and best to express the Arabic term. *To enter the path*,

subdued and held down by a singular agitation of mind and a deep seriousness of thought, he abandoned the apparent sciences, and placed himself under the guidance[1] of Hajji Abd Alcadir, of Ashik Abad in Isphahan, who esteemed himself one of the spiritual fathers of that time, and had a number of disciples. He died in the vigour of his youth in the life time of his father, who was one of the greatest scholars, and survived him but a short time. They were attached by ancient friendship to my father. Another son of the above-mentioned Mawlana Mohammed Saaid, was *Aga Mehdi*, a very learned man and possessed of great ability in mathematical science. I have heard, that he is still alive and dwelling at Lahijan. Another collector of accomplishments, was Mawlana *Hajji Mohammed* of Gilan. He was one of the famous enquirers after science and truth, and possessed most praise-worthy qualities. Having fixed his abode at Isphahan, he studied

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or *adopt the method*, is the first degree of Sofyism, after the candidate has obtained a character and good report of obedience to the law, &c. The initiated Sofy is styled مريد *apprentice* or *disciple*, that is, one *desirous* to learn, and his *master* is called *Sheikh*.

[1] نسبت ارادت درست كرد Literally *he made aright the relation of his willingness*, that is, he took upon himself the relation of *entered apprentice* to the *Sheikh* or *Master*, Hajji Abd Alcadir.

under the late Mojtahid, Mawlana Mohammed Bakir of Khorasan, one of the greatest of the learned. He had a true taste for poetry, and his verses are known to the public. Every month he used to come once or twice to my father's house, and staid some days with us. His disposition was modest and equable; his conduct chaste and sober in the extreme. He died at Isphahan. These few couplets are his :[1]

From the melting of the wax comes subsistence to the torch's flame :
The oppressor lives by the side of the oppressed.
I am of no use to myself or to others :
Life consumes me vainly, as a torch is burnt in the day-time.
By the amorous desire of my beloved, my heart is lighted up with brightness :
If water would be fire, it must first become air.

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[1] از گداز شمع باشد شعله‌را پایندگي
میکند از پهلوي مظلوم ظالم زندگي
نه بکار خویش ایم نه بکار دیگري
چون چراغ روز مي سوزد مرا این زندگي
دل روشن بتقریب هوس عشق آشنا کردد
اکر خواهد که آب آتش شود اوّل هوا کردد

In the fifth verse بتقریب is used as a preposition and simply means *by*, or *by cause of*. There is a play of similitude between the words هوس and هوا the latter, though properly signifying *air*, being often employed in the sense of the former.

So, if my soul has a longing for the point of my love's dart,
After death let my dust become stone, and that stone a magnet.

Also,[1]

In the morning, on my approach to the wine-jar my flask fell upon a stone:
At such a time, no person's foot even should meet a stone.

چنین کر خواهش پیکان تیر اوست جانم‌را
پس از مردن غبار سنگ و سنك آهن ربا کردد

صبحدم در پاي خم آمد مرا مینا بسنك
در چنین وقتي نیاید هیچکس‌را پا بسنك

Early morning is the season, when the Persian debauchee indulges most in wine. To cure the head-ache of his midnight revel, he hastens to the jar, to "take," as we say, "a hair of the dog that bit him." At such a time it is particularly unpleasant, to break his flask just at the place where the wine is sold. For the sake of the giddy drunkard it were to be wished, says the poet, that even his foot should avoid the encounter of a stone, lest he stumble, though the inconvenience would be but slight, when compared with the loss of his wine-flask by such a meeting.

CHAPTER V.

Description of Isphahan.

THE number of learned and able men in Isphahan was so great, that, were I to give a full account of them, I should fall into prolixity. The truth is, that there is no where in the world to be found a city, however large, that contains the universality to be met with here.

Arabic Couplet.[1]

A country, in which youth untied the amulet of my childhood:
The first earth, whose soil felt my tender touch.

Of an atmosphere so temperate, salubrious, and agreeable, as that of Isphahan; a water, so light

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دِيَارٌ بِهَا حَلَّ الشَّبَابُ تَمِيمَتِي
وَأَوَّلُ أَرْضٍ مَسَّ جِلْدِي تُرَابُهَا

The Arabic word تميمة equivalent to the Greek Τέλεσμα, both signifying a *complement* or *function*, is the name given to a charm against enchantment, which the Persians and Arabs hang about the necks of their children, till they arrive at the age of puberty, when its removal marks the commencement of youth.

and digestible; a town, so clean and neat, so magnificent and splendid, with such a multitude of lofty buildings,[1] of new and ancient monuments, and with such a concourse of elegant and affluent inhabitants, no indication has been given in the habitable world.[2] The influence of the place is visible, in the education and accomplishment of the minds and persons of its inhabitants, having ever been the source and seminary of learned, great, clever, and honourable men: and however much labour might be bestowed on the description of its fair qualities, still something would remain unsaid. Let a sensible, experienced man, who has seen the world and made the circuit of the universe, come to this city, and, settling there, let him have abundant time and

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[1] 'No buildings can be more striking than some of the Palaces of Isphahan. The front room or hall is in general very open, and supported by pillars that are carved and gilded in the most exquisite manner; while the large glass windows, through which it receives a mellow light, are curiously stained with a variety of colours. The stile of their architecture is light and pleasing, though neither regular nor magnificent: and they have at a distance, a very picturesque effect, from being surrounded with gardens and fine avenues.' *Sir J. Malcolm's History of Persia*, vol. ii. p. 522.

[2] The expression in the text ربع مسكون which in Dr. Wilkins' Dictionary is erroneously interpreted "the four quarters of the world," means the one quarter which is habitable; as it is the opinion of the Persians, that the remaining three are utterly unfit for the abode of man.

opportunity, and he will continually be discovering properties and qualities to distinguish it above every place on the terrestrial globe. Here goodness of living is uniform for the poor and the rich, the stranger and the native: here the gain of every perfection and of every kind of pleasure is obtainable and easy. The inhabitants of Ispahan are of every class of men, and they are all bred to vivacity, manliness and courtesy. The generality of them are adorned with the jewels of modesty and chastity, and a love for religion and the service of God. The innumerable colleges and mosques are frequented, both day and night, by the piety and devotion of men of fortune and seekers of truth; and by the blessing of just and wise princes, promoters of religion, and the example and influence of learned and great men, propagators of virtue, the whole of its population is trained and practised, in laudable rules and observances, in approved customs and proceedings. Abominable things and blameable actions are rare in this city, and carefully suppressed. The *Hakim Shefayi*, a celebrated poet, in one of his Mesnavis has exerted himself to the utmost in its description, and has said :[1]

The revolving sphere is the father, and the pillars of heaven the mother;

[1] گردون پدر است و مادر ارکان

But Isphahan, the daughter, is better than the parent.
Strong, as the foundation of friendship,
On its pinnacle the orbit is a fort.
Its fortifications are therefore full of twists and turns,
Because within its bowels is the fortune of the world.
Both the East and the West have place within it,
And both have taken a mansion in one street.
From the extreme extent of this greatest of cities,

فرزند به از پدر صفاهان
محکم چو بناي دوستداري
در کنکرهاش فلك حصاري
پر پیچ و خمست از آن حصارش
کاندر شکمست روزکارش
چه شرق و چه غربرا در او جاي
یك کوچه کرفته هر دو ماواي
از غایت بسط آن معظم

The Persians believe that the کردون or *celestial globe*, revolves on four ارکان *pillars*, fixed at the cardinal points of the compass, and forming the mode of connexion between heaven and earth. *Isphahan* is also written *Siphahan*.

In verse the sixth روزکار which is a personal noun, equivalent to Χρόνος in Greek, and *Saturnus* in the Roman Mythology, means *Time the day-maker*, whose inequalities of shape, reproduced in the variety of his offspring, cause the unevenness of exteriour, and as it were wrinkles of the skin, in the town which holds him and is pregnant with the fortune of mankind.

These verses have very little merit but, as a magnificent sample of Eastern Hyperbole. In the seventh, the poet affects

A hundred hours strike in it at one and the same instant.
In this house, is the rise of morning;
In that street, is night born of darkness.
A hundred times the sun bears his head above the meridian,
Whilst yet, in another place, his face is hidden.
For the water and air of that town God be praised!
From them the intelligent mind is diffused.
Humanity, is an incomparable rose that blooms on its meanest thorns;

صد وقت در او شود بیکدم
یك خانه طلوع بامداد است
یك کوچه شب سیاه زاد است
صد بار بر اوج سر کشد مهر
کش جاي دکر نهان بود چهر
زآن آب و هوا تبارك الله
کافشانده اوست جان آگاه
فطرت کل کس مبوي خارش

to consider Isphahan, as extending from one side of the globe to the other; and consequently asserts, in the tenth, that the hour is different at its opposite extremities. What he says of Isphahan, might be literally true of a town, extending a certain number of miles from east to west; in fact a hundred meridians may, strictly reckoning, be calculated, in as many minutes or seconds, or any smaller fraction of time.

In verse the fifteenth and sixteenth, the intellectual ability of the inhabitants, is attributed to the effect of the pure air and water of Isphahan.

In the seventeenth, is a remarkable compound کس مبو literally *none smell*, that is, *such as none can smell the like of*,

Intellect, the common herb of its grass-plots.
At the gate of this world of wisdom,
Greece is but a beggar, in humanity.
In every street, is an Aristotle standing up,
At every step, is a Plato on the ground.
Its merchants and traders are wise and intelligent;
They are both untiers of knots and makers up of observations.
The lowest populace are inventors of such Megistis as Ptolemy's;

ادراك كياه كشت زارش
بر دركه اين جهان حكمت
يونان باشد كداي فطرت
هر كوچه معلّمي ستاده
هر گام فلاطني فتاده
بازاريكان او خردمند
هم عقده كشاي و هم رصد بند
اوباش مجسطي آفرينند

similar to our expression *none-such*. I have translated فطرت *humanity*, in the sense of *les humanités* in French, which I understand to mean *the formation of body and mind by nature and education*.

In twenty-one, by معلّم is understood the *great master* Aristotle; and in twenty-three and four, the poet affects to consider the careful observation, which the store-keeper bestows on the *Libra* or balance, when he holds it in his hand to weigh his goods, as an astronomical study of the constellation so named. The *Megisti* alluded to, is the Σύνταξις Μεγίστη, a work on the System of the World, composed by Ptolemy of Egypt in the

The very children carry medicine in their sleeves *like Galen*.
If the Celestial Paradise has four rivers,
This is a paradise that has a thousand.

Until, from the murderously piercing eye[1] and malignancy of fortune, there fell on that vast city what befell it, of desolation and ruin, and dispersion of its inhabitants, and of its ancient and illustrious families.

Arabic Poetry.[2]

Fate inevitably will one day meet thee;
Fate, who cares not, whether she tyrannize or act justly.

اطفال شفا در آستین اند
انهار بهشت اگر چهار است
خلدیست که نهر او هزار است

Greek language, and translated into Arabic, under the title of *Tahrir Al Megisti*, by Is-hâc Ben Honain. The French call it *Almageste*. Shirâzi has written a commentary on this work, and entitled it *Hall Moshkilât Il Megisti*.

[1] عين الكمال properly *the eye of perfection*, is used to signify an eye of so powerful a glance, as to pierce and kill like the thunderbolt from heaven. Some of the Arabians were supposed to possess such eyes.

[2] وَلَا بُدَّ أَنْ تَلْقَاكَ يَوْمًا مَنِيَّةٌ
سَوَآءٌ عَلَيْهَا أَنْ تَجُورَ وَتَعْدِلُ

Persian Couplets.

My beloved's fair face of the pavilion I see the palace now bereft of;
Of the form of that erect cypress I see the garden now deprived.
On the place, where stood the jar and the cup, the wretched blind have set their foot.
Instead of the harp and the flute and the flageolet, is the clamour of the crow and the kite.
Build palaces, and yet you shall dwell under the ground:
What concerns it their property, that they be rolled up in a simple winding-sheet!

از روي يار خركهي ايوان هميي بينم تهي
وز قد آن سرو سهي خالي هميي بينم چمن
بر جاي رطل و جام مي كوران نهادستند پي
بر جاي چنك و ناي و ني آواز زاغست و زغن
بَنُوا قُصُورًا وَفِي تَحْتِ الثَّرَى سَكَنُوا
مَا بَالُ مُلْكِهِمْ يَحْوِيهِمُ الْكَفَنُ

In verse the third, the word كوران which I have read *kóran* and translated *the blind*, may be read *Gawran*, *the infidels*, *pagans*, or *Guebres*, a body of whom had joined the Afghans in their invasion of Persia, and assisted them in their conquest of Isphahan.

The change in the Arabic verses from the second to the third person, unusual with us, may render the sense obscure in the translation. It might be thus: *Though you build so many palaces, the grave must be your dwelling:* Your immense *riches*,

Still, notwithstanding that the devastation of this great capital has been completed, it is yet the best of all the countries in the world; and any persons arriving here who should not have witnessed its former condition, would suppose that nothing has been diminished from its ancient splendour. In a very short time, should the excessive iniquity and burning tyranny of its rulers be a little abated, it would return to the beauty of its pristine state, and be the resort of travellers from all parts of the earth. May the Almighty God preserve it in justice and equity!

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were they able, would not concern themselves to preserve you from the poverty of the winding-sheet.

CHAPTER VI.

Departure of the author from Isphahan, in company of his father, to Gilan.—Mention of a number of the learned contemporaries then living.—Arrival at Lahijan.

My father, out of a longing to see his brothers and relations, was seized with a desire of going to Lahijan, and, taking me with him, he set out in that direction. At every stage where we alighted, I read with my father the Theological Part of the *Shar'h Tajrid,* and the *Zubdat Olosol.*[1]

Of the eminent and learned men, whom I met with on that journey, one was the excellent attester of truth[2] *Mirza Hassan* son of the late Mawla, Abd Orrazzak of Lahijan. I had the happiness to wait upon him in his old age and last days of life at the

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[1] The شرح تجريد is a philosophical work, and the زبدة الاصول a work on Law.

[2] محقّق This is the title given to the Sofi, who has been instructed in the *craft* معرفة and has attained the third degree of حقيقة or truth.

City of True Believers,[1] Com, which was his place of abode. He was a miracle of science and piety, and has left some noble compositions, such as, *The True Light on Articles of Faith in Religious Practice*,[2] *The Beauty of Good Men in their Works*,[3] *A Pious Treatise*, and some others.

Another was *Hajji Mohammed Sherif*, to whose society I was admitted in the same town. He was a collector of sciences, possessed a disposition of the most unsullied purity, and was a man of perfect taste. Another was the prince of learned men, *Mir Mohammed Ibrahim* of Cazvin, an assembler of the intellectual and traditional,[4] and a pious man. I saw him at the seat of government, Cazvin. Another was the prince of excellent men *Mirza Cavam Eddin Mohammed* of Seif near Cazvin, who was an intelligent scholar, and in traditional learning, particularly, was an Imam, or Prelate. He composed well in Arabic and Persian verse, and in man-

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[1] The principal cities in Persia have appropriate titles, as Com and Cazvin have دار المومنين Shiraz دار الفضل &c.

[2] شمع يقين در عقايد دينية

[3] جهان الصالحين در اعمال

[4] معقول و منقول

By the first is meant *contemplative science*, which is the result of عقل or *intellect*; by the second *traditional instruction*, which can be gained only by نقل or *narration*.

ners and disposition was worthy of all praise. It was also in that town that I was introduced to his society. These two noble Seyyids lived till within the last few years.

On our arrival at Lahijan we alighted at the ancient mansions of our family, and I visited my highly respectable uncle and all the men of learning, rank, and ability in that country. I passed little short of a year there, and enjoyed perfect calmness and tranquillity of mind. My father employed himself in conference and disputation, and I attended his class as one of his pupils. By his direction, I studied under my uncle the Treatise called *Khulâsat Olhisâb*.[1] At times, going for a walk and recreation to the charming spots in the neighbourhood of the town, I cast my delighted eye over heart-attracting landscapes; then reverted with cheerfulness to the sweet society around me.

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[1] *The Choicest Part of Arithmetic*, a work of *Jalil Beha Eddin Mohammed* of *Aumul*, the Persian Mathematician mentioned in p. 5.

CHAPTER VII.

Short Account of the Province of Gilan.

THE whole of the districts of Gilan, especially the town and territory of Lahijan, whether for verdure and delightful scenery, or cultivation and abundance of inhabitants; for plentifulness of the finest flowers, or superfluity of waters and rivers; or for intricacy of trees and fruit-plants both of hot and cold climates, are without like or equal in the inhabited quarter of the globe, and form a world apart, whereof no resemblance is to be found. Gilan contains several considerable and populous cities, with lofty and ornamented edifices and strongly fortified castles. Having been always since the most ancient times covered with inhabitants and made the abode of august princes, it has been for the most part divided among three powerful kings. The air of this province is exceeding fresh and temperate. The good living of its tenantry and their enjoyment of every delicacy are to a degree of perfection, that surpasses the lot of every other country in the world. For no sort of comestibles or variety of clothing, for none whatsoever of the necessa-

ries of life is there any kind of want to this kingdom from without. What in other countries is not to be grown or manufactured, here is so obtainable and easy of production, that it bears no price or value. In most of the forests, the passage of birds and beasts is become impossible through the close intertwining of the trees with one another; and the power of vegetation is so great, that in the mountain is to be found no portion of rock, on the plain no handful of soil, clear of trees, or grass, or flowers. From the multitude of trees without autumn,[1] such as the oak,[2] cypress, orange, shaddock[3] and the like, the hills and vallies are of a perpetual emerald hue; and though trodden by crowds of foot and horse men, the public roads to the towns and villages are always covered with flowers and verdure.[4]

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[1] درختان بي خزان I could not refuse myself the pleasure of using this beautiful expression in the English text, in lieu of the ordinary *evergreen*.

[2] For شمشاد in the Persian text, which the Dictionaries erroneously interpret *box*, I have given *oak*, believing it to be the *Quercus Ilex*, or evergreen oak, which is a forest tree, and not a mere shrub, as box is.

[3] ترنج In the Dictionaries this word is erroneously interpreted *orange*, which, I believe, is as distinct from it as the *lime* or *lemon*.

[4] The high roads in the eastern countries are merely traced passages over the plains and hills, facilitated by the erection of

The number of delightful spots and places abounding with game is beyond computation; and the various kinds of prey, which both land and sea furnish, are incalculable. The natives are well known for their abundant vivacity and ingenuity, and their continence and hospitality are celebrated. This province has always been replete with learned and eminent men; but, as it is near the shore of the Caspian sea, it mostly happens, that in the course of an age, through the corruption of the sea-air, the plague spreads its contagion more or less through the towns, and multitudes of its inhabitants are destroyed. The humidity also of the atmosphere being excessive, in such sort that it is dangerous to sleep in the open air at night, by reason of the heavy dew, it is not unusual for it to disagree with the constitutions of foreigners.

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bridges over deep streams and occasional pavement of marshy ground. To the remainder no attention is given, and being unpaved it is best when covered with a thick turf of grass.

CHAPTER VIII.

Return to Isphahan.—Mention of some of the excellent and learned Authorities.

AFTER my father had seen his friends and made his arrangements regarding the lands of his hereditary possessions, he set forth on his return to Isphahan, and I had the honour to accompany him. Along the road he gave me instruction in a treatise on the *Demonstration of the Heavens,*[1] and in an epitome or two on Astronomy. Arrived at Isphahan, I resumed with fresh ardour and increased diligence my accustomed pursuits of conferences and disputations, and passed my time in tranquillity and contentment. In the lecture-room of that intelligent scholar *Mirza Kemál Eddin Hossein* of Fasa[2] I studied the *Explication of Beidáwi,* The *Jamia Eljawamia of Tabrasi,* and *The Political Economy*[3] of the *Sharh Tajrid.* With the learned

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[1] تشريح الافلاك

[2] In the district of Shiraz.

[3] امور عامه Affairs of the Commonalty, probably a section of the second part of the *Tajrid,* the celebrated work in six parts of *Nasir Eddin El Tosi,* which has been commented on by most of the learned Moslem doctors since his time. He died in 672 of the Hejra.

Mawla, *Hajji Mohammed Tahir*, of Isphahan, who was one of the great lawyers of his time, I read *The Istibsar* of Sheikh Tosi, and the *Sharh Lumaa* of the Damascan. At this period, the fame of the knowledge of that model of philosophers, *Sheikh Inayat Allah*, of Gilan, God have mercy on his soul! who was occupied in teaching at Isphahan, and was a friend of my father's, gave me a desire to profit by his instruction. With him, I began and finished the perusal of the Logical part of the *Tajrid*, which is one of the valuable books on Logic, and the book called *Najat* of Sheikh Avisena.[1] As long as this scientific philosopher continued in Isphahan, we maintained our relations of study and instruction. Afterwards, retiring to Gilan, he died at Cazvin. He had been a pupil of Mir Cavâm Eddin, the celebrated philosopher, and was in all the wisdom of the schools, and the whole circle of the sciences, a perfect master; of the oral traditions of the learned, a diligent collector. Having undergone great austerities, in the attainment of high degrees, he was possessed of admirable taste, and of a strongly furnished memory. The common and ordinary lawyers,[2]

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[1] شيخ الرئيس *Senior Chief*, or *Head Doctor*, is a title designed in the text for Avisena, whose name I have given instead.

[2] It must be always borne in mind, that *lawyer* and *divine* are synonymous in the Mohammedan countries.

being no object of his attention, or respect, accused him, as is their custom, of holding the religious doctrines of the philosophers, and of deviating from the holy law. God forbid, that he should have been guilty of such deviation!

Next, I attended the prince of profound sophists, *Amir Seyyid Hasan*, of Talcan, God have mercy on his soul! who was one of the greatest doctors, and most noble craftsmen.[1] He lectured with me on the Fisos El Hikam, or *Gems of Science*, of Sheikh Arabi, and I employed myself in that study. I also read with him a Commentary on the Heyakil En Nôr,[2] or *Temples of Light*. He had a very great affection for me. In no department of science was there any branch in which his ready knowledge was not perfect. Coupling questions of philosophy with speculations of Sofyism, he owned a vast sublimity in the revelation of the three degrees of Unity. Strength of exposition and disputation he possessed to so high a pitch, that no disputant had any power of speech beside him.

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[1] As it is impossible to render literally into English, the various Arabic participles which are continually occurring, I am forced to use the expressions that come nearest them. The present participle, عارف *one knowing*, is the name given to the Sofi who has attained the second degree, معرفة, having passed the first, طريقة.

[2] This is a work on the doctrines and mysteries of Sofyism.

My affection for him and love of his instruction, and his kindness to me, were firm and constant, till the time of his death in Isphahan. Some of his vulgar[1] students accused him also, behind his back, with holding doctrines not drawn from the most holy revelation; for *Men are enemies of what they are ignorant of.*[2]

One of the eminent men of the time, in that city, was the late *Aga Jemál Eddin Mohammed* of Khonsâr, eldest son of the learned Aga Hossein, light be the earth on his remains! whose reputation is too great to allow any necessity of his description. Though I obtained not the happiness of receiving instruction from him, I repeatedly had the honour to be present at his assemblies. He died at an advanced age, in Isphahan, and was buried near his father. His life had been passed in teaching, amidst honour and magnificence. He was a very holy man, and of laudable habits and manners.

Another of the exalted doctors was, *Akhond Mawla Mohammed*, of Gilan, well known by the name of *Serâb*. He was one of the Mojtahids, or Chief Priests of the age, and, through the fear of

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[1] The expression in the text is, ظاهر *outer, superficial, external*, not admitted to the inner mysteries and occult science of the sophist.

[2] وَالنَّاسُ أَعْدَاءُ مَا جَهِلُوا

God, perfectly temperate and continent. He had been long an inhabitant of Isphahan, was employed in teaching, and was provided with all the conveniences and enjoyments of life. With my father he was particularly united in familiarity and friendship, and I many times waited on him to investigate questions of science. He died at a great age, and was buried in that town.

At this time, I took an inclination to the study of Medicine, and learnt a portion of the *Kolliat* of the *Canon*,[1] making myself acquainted with some of the objects of that science, under the Galen of the age, the celebrated Physician, *Mirza Mesih*, who was a man of accomplished skill in medicine, and devoted his whole time to the cure of diseases, and the instruction of most of the medical practitioners in the city. One night I sat up to read, and, in the morning early, my learned father, God have mercy on his soul! came near, and took a seat by me. I was surrounded and busied with books of medicine. Having asked me, and being satisfied, that I was employed on that science, he forbad me to pay so much attention to it, or to enter so deeply into it. *If a person*, said he, *has confidence, that he shall have leisure to obtain what he seeks, his search is right: but, to you, whence can such belief and confidence in length of life come? I see that your mind is devouring and consuming your*

[1] See page 3.

body, as a sharp sword eats its scabbard. Such a person cannot be long-lived. Labour, then, in what is most important. So saying he caressed me, and having said a prayer for me, he arose.

Soon afterwards, I went to attend that eminent Sophist, *Mirza Mohammed Tahir*, son and sucessor of Mirza Abo'l Hasan of Cayin, who in mathematical sciences, and the middle classes of philosophy, was the phœnix of the age. For a length of time, I studied and investigated some treatises on Astronomy, the Sharh Tedzkereh,[1] the Tahrir Eucleides, the Tahrir Megisti,[2] and the Cavanin Hisabieh.[3] This eminent man lived till about ten years ago, when I heard of his death.

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[1] شرح تذكره according to D'Herbelot, is an historical work of Nasireddin El Tosi.

[2] تحرير مجسطي is An Explication of the Book of Ptolemy, entitled Σύνταξις Μεγίστη. It is the work of Ibn Abi Shàkir, and is divided into thirteen sections.

[3] قوانين حسابيه are the Rules of Arithmetic.

CHAPTER IX.

Endeavours of the Author to learn the truths, and penetrate the mysteries, of the different religions and opposite opinions.—Singular aid, and blessing of God conferred upon him.

I NOW felt a desire to inform myself on the questions and truths of the different religions, and concerning the followers of the various sects. I became intimate with the doctors of the order of Christians, and their *padres*, who were in a numerous body at Isphahan, and tried and measured the quantity of knowledge of each of them. One held pre-eminence among them, and they called him the Caliph Avanus. He knew Arabic and Persian well, and was versed in Logic, Astronomy, and Geometry. Some Mahometan books had undergone his perusal, and he had a great wish to investigate several of their questions and propositions: but from fear, and through the utter disrespect of the Moslem doctors for his order, he had been unable to attain his object. He esteemed my society a great acquisition, and when, after a while, he had become acquainted with my character and just discretion, he shewed me great sincerity and friendship. From him I learnt the

Gospel, and obtaining access to the commentaries upon it, I thoroughly investigated their articles of faith, and the principles of their religion, and read a great number of their books. He also, sometimes, asked information from me, and I repeatedly by various arguments proved to him the truth of the Mahometan faith. Not having a word to say in reply, he stood convinced of the error of his way, but he died without having openly received the grace of being directed to the straight road of salvation.

Among the Jewish inhabitants of Isphahan, who, as they believe, have since the time of Moses been dwellers in that town, there was one named Shoaib, the most learned of his brethren. I gained his confidence, and took him to my house. I learnt from him the Bible, had the interpretation of it written for me, and informed myself of the truth of all that they maintain. But I found that order of men totally destitute of knowledge and learning, and entire strangers to thought and discernment. Their stupidity, and obduracy in ignorance, are without end, or measure.

I acted in the same way with regard to the varieties of the Mahometan belief. I read the books of every sect, and considered what each had to say, discreetly and anxiously remarking on their arguments. Wherever I found any person belonging to any sect, who was knowingly attached to his own religious opinions, I frequented his

society, and made myself acquainted with his views and discourses. In this way, I had God knows how much conversation with the followers of different opinions.

In the midst of these occupations, I gave lectures on the ordinary classic books, and wrote commentaries and appendixes on them. As occasion permitted, I composed separate treatises on my different investigations, and shewing most of them, first, to the skilful in each art, I obtained perfect confidence in their correctness, as they severally met with approbation. By the blessing of the divine assistance, it has never yet happened, that any infirmity or erroneousness has appeared in any passage of my compositions; and from God is all aid and preservation from error.

CHAPTER X.

A singular occurrence of carnal attraction, and afterwards of divine favour.

In those days, one of the accidents and strange events that befell me, was the attraction of a beauty, and the allurement of an accomplished lady, which drove my heart to distraction.

Lines.[1]

She shewed me a sample of the beauty of my friend (God):
But though the two worlds should be confused, I have no intent to make alarm, or complaint.

An indescribable perplexity fell amidst the inmost recesses, and secret feelings, of my nervous frame, and from my unsettled heart tumult and disturbance arose.

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[1] بنمودمي نشاني ز جمال دوست ليكن
دو جهان بهم بر آيد سر شور و شر ندارم

In this couplet, which seems to be very poor both in rhyme and reason, we have an example of the enclitic, مي joined to the end of a verb, for مرا.

Lines.[1]

The morning-lecture, I have laid at the threshold of the wine-house;
The times of prayer, I have devoted to the path towards my beloved.
Fire might be spread over the harvest of a hundred sage devotees,
From this burn-spot that I have had set on my maddened soul.

The frantic nightingale of my heart began in a loud tone to sing this note;

Lines.[2]

I say it openly, and am happy in what I say;
I am love's slave, and free, else, of both worlds.
There is nothing on the tables of my heart, but the Alif of my beloved's stature;

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[1] ما درس سحر در سر میخانه نهادیم
اوقات دعا در رهٔ جانانه نهادیم
در خرمن صد زاهد عاقل زند آتش
این داغ که ما بر دل دیوانه نهادیم

The *times of prayer*, which are before sun-rise, at noon, and after sun-set, when the religious Mahometan should repair to the mosque, are spent by the lover, in visiting the street where his beloved dwells.

[2] فاش میگویم و از گفتهٔ خود دلشادم
بندهٔ عشقم و از هر دو جهان آزادم
نیست بر لوح دلم جز الف قامت یار

What can I do? my master taught me no other letter.

The most extraordinary circumstance was, that the vanquished and down-fallen at the feet of that princess of the fair, exceeded all number and description; and I was ever repeating this couplet;*

Sweet rose! not alone am I an object of wonder to the gazing crowd;
Hundreds of thy distracted lovers gather crowds by their frantic gestures.

One night I went to a garden with a company of agreeable companions, and true friends. Among them was Mawlana Ali Kosâri of Isphahan, a celebrated penman, who was a store of perfections, both apparent and ideal, and a phœnix of

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* چکنم حرف دیگر یاد نداد استادم

These beautiful lines are from Hafiz. To be *free of the two worlds* and a *slave to love* is to give up all attention to present, or future, happiness, otherwise than in the service of the beloved object.

† ای کل نه هین معرکهٔ من بتو کرم است
هنکامهٔ صد سوخته خرمن بتو کرم هست

The circle of beholders, drawn round a juggler, or madman, or any strange sight in the street, is called by the Arabic word. معرکه or the Persian, هنکامه and, if dense and crowded, it is said to be *warm*. A person in a ruined and distracted condition, through desperate love, or any other cause, is stiled سوخته خرمن or *harvest-burnt*.

the age; in beauty of person, and skill of sweet singing, a rival of the miraculous David. At midnight, having raised his voice in tune, he first began to sing the following couplet :[1]

To-night come to me, Love! that in the orchard we may fill a glass;
Thou shalt outvie the rose and torch-light, I the moth and nightingale.

My poor inflamed heart fell into such a state, that it would be impossible to describe it. A thousand times, my elemental body must have been abandoned by its sovereign spirit. Till morning dawned, his melody still compassed this same couplet. He sang, and was silent; again, after a short pause, he struck up anew the same modulation.

Some time afterwards, a severe affliction befell me. One night, a pain arose in my joints, and increasing violently towards morning, it subdued all the limbs in my body, so that I was incapable of the smallest motion. A number of medical men came to cure me, and tried sudorifics, and potions of Chinese wood: but, amid the attacks of anguish and sorrow to which my mind was a prey, the

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[1] امشب بیا تا در چمن سازیم پر پیمانه‌را
تو شمع و گل را داغ کن من بلبل و پروانه‌را

The second verse is literally, *Do thou make a blot, or brand, on the rose, &c.*

success of this treatment was difficult.[1] One of the practitioners, Mirza Sherif, son and heir of the celebrated doctor Jelal Eddin, who was a most ingenious physician, and adorned with the jewels of knowledge and integrity, undertook to cure me by a different process, and attended me two or three days; upon which, the physician himself was seized with the same complaint, and took to his bed. In these circumstances I composed an ode, the beginning of which was thus:[2]

For the crime of love if thou hast killed me, I am grateful for the kindness:
But, Lord! what is the fault of the innocent hermit? I am perplexed to understand it.

This is from the same ode:[3]

In the School of Being, the tablet of the heart is the Book of Love:

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[1] It is considered by the Persians as necessary for the good effect and success of the treatment by the Chinese wood, or root, that the patient be cheerful, and free from such gloomy despondency, as the Sheikh's hopeless love had brought upon him.

[2] بجرم عشق اگر کشتي مرا ممنون احسانم
گناهٔ زاهد بیدرد یا رب چیست حیرانم

By the *innocent hermit* is meant, the passionless physician, who, undeservedly, suffers the punishment of the presumptuous lover.

[3] کتاب عشق لوح دل بود در مکتب هستي

Thou hast done well, to draw the stroke of obliteration on the line of my body.

At the end of two months, Almighty God granted me a recovery from this chronic disease, and I returned to my occupation of teaching and learning.

نکو کردي بسطرم تن کشيدي خط بطلانم

The poet likens his body to a line of writing, سطر which, by a stroke of the pen, خط drawn along it, is cancelled and deprived of force, as his limbs had been, by the infliction of universal disease.

The word خط should in strictness be written with Teshdid of the To; thus, خطّ. But the niceties of Arabic Orthography are often purposely neglected by the Persians; and I have printed this and other similar words, as I have found them written in my text.

CHAPTER XI.

Collection of the Author's Poems into a Divan or Series.—Mention of that distinguished virtuoso the late Mir Abd Al Ghani.

DURING the period of my illness, being powerless of other exertion, I composed many verses, and, as I could not write myself, others wrote them for me. They are of a different turn and character from my other poetry. Afterwards, I collected all the poems which I had accumulated from the beginning till then, and formed them into a Divan, consisting of cassidas, or elegies, mesnavis, odes, and quatrains, to the number, I suppose, of seven or eight thousand couplets. This was the first Divan of my humble production. It has circulated through the hands of the literati. My love for composition, and for the society of poets, increased, and my taste was wonderfully affected and delighted, by good and approved poetry.

Of all the men of genius and masters of language that I ever associated with, one I may mention as having seen, that had attained to all the

niceties and beauties of Persian Poetry, and could do justice to all the demands of eloquent composition; one, whose equal in degree I have not yet seen, *Mir Abd Alghani Tafrashi*, one of the nephews of the late excellent Mir Abd Alghani Tafrashi, a pupil of the celebrated Mirza Ibrahim of Hamadan, who, in the reign of the last Shah Abbas, ranked as a clever man, and is now dead. In short, this Mir Abd Alghani, who was one of my friends and most intimate companions, and according to the saying,[1] "The high-mettled youth ever holds to his illustrious fathers," was adorned with the purest accomplishments, possessed a perfect and true taste, and the most exalted disposition. Having gone through the course of the ordinary sciences, he became a prodigy of poetical talent, for ingenuity, taste, and imagination; though, indeed, he composed very little poetry, the whole number of his virgin thoughts not amounting to as many even as one hundred couplets. But he composed in the proper style; and there is no comparison between the strength, and sweetness, and delicacy of his language, and the inferior compositions of his contemporaries. In the growth of ingenious subtilties, and in quickness of perception for faults of style, I have not seen his equal. Whilst he lived, I composed a great deal of poetry

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[1] أَلْوَلَدُ الْجِسْرُ يَتَقَيَّدُ بِآبَائِهِ الْغُرَّاءِ

by the taste of his criticism, as he maintained a very great intimacy with me. This quatrain is from him.[1]

I have sat a whole life in the path of fidelity; but in vain:
I have set my heart on none besides thee; but in vain.
In thy street, the approach of every dog is nearer than mine:
I have broken all this quantity of bones; but in vain.

He died at Isphahan in the flower of his youth, and has left the fire-mark of separation on the hearts of his friends. "O God! forgive him his offences, and place him beside thee in the highest of high places."

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[1] عمري بره وفا نشستيم عبث
دل جز تو بديكري نبستيم عبث
در كوي تو قرب هر سكي پيش از ماست
ما اينهمه استخوان شكستيم عبث

The poet stoops to speak of himself, as of one of the dogs that herd in the street where dwells his mistress. In Mohammedan countries, where the dog, as an unclean animal, is forbidden all access to the interior of the house, great care is, nevertheless, taken to attach him to the exterior, by regular supplies of bones and other offal; and performing the duty of an outer guard, he drives away as many as he can from any share in his berth or stipend.

CHAPTER XII.

Removal of the Author from Isphahan to the Court of Excellence, Shiraz.—Mention of some other pillars of distinction, and learned men of rank.

AFTERWARDS, on occasion of the departure of some persons among my friends and acquaintances, who were free to follow their inclinations, towards the Court of Excellence, Shiraz, I also was seized with a desire to visit that country; and after asking leave of my parents, I set out in that direction. On my arrival in that town, I was admitted to the society of its eminent chiefs, and clever men, and I took so great a liking to the place, that, as long as I staid there, my time was spent most agreeably.

The Court of Empire, Shiraz, is one of the most considerable towns of Persia, and as long as it has existed, both since the establishment of Islamism, and before it, has ever been the meeting, and dwelling place, of philosophers, and of chief priests. Though there is not much vigour, or agreeableness, in its air, or waters; yet there is salubrity; and the town is well peopled, and abundantly supplied with all manner of provisions. Mosques,

and Colleges, and fine houses, are numerous; and many of the streets are handsome and pleasing. Sheikh Saadi Shirazi has said;[1]

Lines.

For all Egypt and Syria, for all land and sea;
Every place is a village, or hamlet; Shiraz, a city.

Here was residing that great master of the learned, Mawlana *Shah Mohammed Shirazi*, God have mercy on his soul! and I employed my time in attending his lectures on the book called *Osol Káfi*. During most of the hours of both night and day, I was studying by his side; and his affection for me was great. This eminent man was one of the prodigies of his age, for vastness of research, strength of memory, and length of life. He had enjoyed the society of most of the learned men and great philosophers of his time, and had visited the greater part of the kingdoms of the world. In the attainment of high degrees, and the complete preparation of his soul, he had undergone many and great austerities, and had

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[1] اگر مصر و شام است اگر بر و بحر
همه روستاق است شیراز شهر

Mesr and *Sham*, besides being the names of the countries, Egypt and Syria, are also used to denominate their Capitals, Cairo and Damascus, which are the most celebrated towns in all the East.

gained the sincere friendship of the saints and spiritual doctors. His morals were deserving of the highest praise, and his disposition was one of the most generous. His life extended to near one hundred and thirty years, all of which he spent in diffusing knowledge, seeking truth, and labouring to do good to his fellow servants of God. Some treatises on Traditions, Judgements, and Sofyism, are among his compositions. A short time after my arrival in Shiraz, he breathed his last.

Another of the eminent men of that town was Mawlana, the Asserter of Truth,[1] the Collector of the Intelligible and Traditional, *Akhond Mesihai*, of Fasa, on him be mercy! whose occupation was giving lectures. He was the greatest of all the scholars of Aga Hossein of Khonsâr, and the model of the eminent men of his time. In strength of genius, fairness of method, and profundity of learning in all the sciences, he obtained celebrity; and the dignity of Sheikh Al Islam of Fars, was committed to his charge and possession. His lecture-room was the place of assembly for students from all parts of the universe, and I passed a considerable time in repetition and disputation under him. I read with him The Physics of the Shefa, The Divinity of the Sharh Ishârât, The Old and

[1] محقق which I have translated, *asserter of truth*, is the title given to the Sofy who has attained the third and highest degree of his order.

New Commentaries, and so forth, until he retired to the town of Fasa, and repaired to the mercy of God. He was, in truth, among the most intelligent of the learned of high degree, and possessed great reach of thought, true taste, and cheerfulness of temper and disposition. In Persian and Arabic poetry, he was eloquent to the utmost; and he has left some splendid couplets in praise of the Commander of the Faithful, on whom be peace! which are most eloquently written. His Persian poems are well composed, and are spirited and charming. *Maani* is his Takhallos, or poetical title.

Quatrain.[1]

That petulant wine-seller has become fierce in inflaming my heart;
Her wantonness has led her to turn a vender of Kabaŭ:
Cherished by the quickening dew of her rosy cheek,
To morrow, or next day, the apple of her chin will be ripe as the mellow pear.

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[1] شد کرم به جکر سوزیم آن رند شرابی
مستیش بر آن داشت که کردید کبابی
از تربیت آب حیات کل رویش
فرداست که آن سیب ذقن کشته کلابی

In all the Eastern, as in the ancient, Greek and Roman, poets, the delicacy of the reader is occasionally shocked by meeting with such verses as these, written in the viciously depraved taste of Virgil's "Formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexin."

Another of the celebrated dignitaries of that town, was Mawlana *Lotf Ollah Shirazi*, one of the solid scholars, and a pupil of the eminent Aarif, Mawlana Mohammed Mahsan Kashani. I attended him a length of time in the study of the Hadis and other sciences; and after I had read with him the book called *Wáfi*, one of the compositions of the late Molla Mahsan, he granted me, in writing, an ample licence.[1] He died soon after at an advanced age.

Another of the eminent men of that country, was the learned Mawla *Mohammed Bâkir*, known by the title of *Sofi*, a very able and accomplished scholar. With him, I read the book called The *Talvihât* of Sheikh Ashrak, and a portion of the Canon. He also, in that town, took his departure to the world of perpetuity.

Another of the dignities of that place, was Sheikh *Mohammed Amin Shirazi*, a man adorned with learning and uprightness, with whom I frequently associated. He survived the afore-mentioned dignitaries some time; but is since dead.

Another of the great and learned men of that city, and a collector of excellences, was Mawlana *Mohammed Ali*, known by the addition of *Sakâki*.

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[1] This was a permit, or diploma, authorizing the Sheikh to be a candidate for the dignity of Mojtahid, conferred, in Persia, by the election of the people, in the same manner as presidencies are bestowed in the Presbyterian Kirk.

Being unrivalled in knowledge, he was attended as a lecturer in all the lecture-rooms of Shiraz. He was skilful and acute in every branch of science, and had been a pupil of Mawlana Shah Mohammed Akhond Mesihai of Fasa, and others. Having formed the connexion of Irâdat,[1] or Willingness, in the line of Spiritual doctors, he wore their dress. He was of a very exalted nature, of pure intention, and happy disposition; and was greatly approved of in the hearts of men. He maintained a constant friendship and intimacy with me, till, at the conquest of the Afghans, he attained the degree of Martyrdom in Shiraz. He wrote very good verses, of which I here transcribe these few couplets:[2]

Grant, O my God! the two worlds as a reward to my murderer:
This delightful taste of martyrdom is a sufficient fine for my blood.

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[1] Though before noted, it may be again explained, that this is the expression for the entrance of an apprentice into the order of Sofyism, the dress of which is the *Khircah*, or *patched garment*.

[2] دو عالم‌را جزاي قاتل من ده خداي من
که بس باشد همین ذوق شهادت خونبهاي من

In verse the second, the poet asserts that the delight he feels in being deprived of life for the sake of the Almighty, and for his profession of the true faith, (here meant of the Shia creed,)

My body is Egypt, my ambition Pharaoh, my soul is Haman, and I am Moses:

My fancies and imaginations are my magic, and my guide is my staff.

As the negation of a negative is affirmation, I fear not to die:

My duration, like that of the extinguished torch, is in my mortality.

Is there any need of gathering up the skirt to pass through the Sarâb of the world?

The top of my foot would not become wet from the passage of the seven seas.

In his poetical compositions, *Shakib* is his Takhallos, or title as a poet.

Another prince of princes and eminent men, was Mirza *Mehdi Nesabeh*, who attained the dig-

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بدن مصر و هوا فرعون و هامان نفس و من موسي
خيال و وهمها سحر و دليل من عصاي من
چو نفي نفي اثباتست از مردن نمي ترسم
بقاي من چو شمع کشته باشد در فناي من
گذشتن از سراب دهر دامن چيدني دارد
ز آب هفت دريا تر نکردد پشت پاي من

is a sufficient atonement made to him, and a high enough price given to him, for the blood which his murderer has caused him to shed.

In verse the fifth, allusion is made to the Platonic doctrine of immortality, for which, as developed in the writings of the Eastern philosophers, see the Aklâk Nâseri of Nâsireddin Mohammed Ben Hassan, surnamed El Tòsi.

nity of Sheikh Al Islam, and was of high respectability. His family is of repute in that town for splendour of rank and lineage. For me he had a perfect friendship and affection. The sons and nephews of that race were all worthy men, and were intimate companions of mine. This noble Seyyid, also, attained the degree of martyrdom in the revolution at Shiraz.

Another of the worthy inhabitants of Shiraz who maintained a perfect intimacy with me, was Mirza *Abo Talib Sholistâni*, a man of true taste and praise-worthy morals, who passed his time in the company of clever men, in conversation on the sciences, and in the performance of his religious duties. After my removal from that town to Isphahan, he always, as long as he lived, kept open the doors of mutual friendship and correspondence by letter; and he had collected together a great number of my poems.

Once, he sent a letter to me in Isphahan, proposing a question which concerned *Jemal Eddin Abd Orrozzak Isphahani* and his son *Kemal Eddin Ismail*, and requesting my judgement on their poetry, to decide whose composition of the two held the superiority. In the same letter it was mentioned, that a dispute existed among a number of persons on the subject of this superiority, and that both sides had agreed to abide by my decision. In reply, I wrote this piece in verse, and folding it up in my letter, sent it to him.

Lines.[1]

Last night, from the friend, of whom my heart is enamoured,
In the praise of whose perfect understanding eloquence is dumb,
There came to me a messenger, an angel of good fortune,
With a sweet refreshing letter, which might be taken for limpid water.
Prose it cannot be called, for it is a string of gems;
Every line of it, to my view, is a lace of pearls.
I opened it, and read, and weighed, and saw,
That the sum of its contents, is a question put to me.
"To-day, in this country, among our critics and connoisseurs,
"A dispute exists, concerning the poetry of Jemâl and Kemâl.
"Our friends, in short, are divided on this question into two bands,

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[1] دوش از بر یاري که دلم شیفتهٔ اوست
در شرح کمال خردش ناطقه لالست
آمد بسرم قاصد فرخنده سروشي
با نامهٔ عذبي که مکر آب زلالست
نثرش نتوان گفت که سلکیست ز گوهر
هر سطري از آن در نظرم عقدهٔ لالست
بگشودم و بر خواندم و سنجیده و دیدم
کز بنده رهي حاصل آن نامه سؤالست
کامروز درین ناحیه عاشق سخنانرا
غوغا بسر شعر جمالست و کمالست
القصّه درین مسئله یاران دو گروهند

"And are quarrelling on the proof of superiority of one of them.

"One party supports the pre-eminence of the father's poetry; another of the son's:

"And it is now two years that this matter has remained undecided.

"These disputatious friends have all agreed,

"That the judgement awarded by your pen, shall be as a revelation from heaven."

Now, therefore, did open its wings, to weigh a just answer,

The Simorgh of my imagination, under whose pinion is the sphere.

I looked, with minuteness, into the Collections of both the poets,

And, if they are not to be called miracles of production, they are lawful magic.

I saw that the inkstand and pen of these two Royal Sovereigns

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در حجت ترجیح یکی زین دو جدالست
این شعر پدر آورد آن شعر پسررا
یکسو نشد این مشغله امروز دو سالست
راضی شده اند آنهمه یاران مجادل
کز کلك تو حکمی که رسد وحی مثالست
بکشاد پی پاسخ سنجیده پر خویش
سیمرغ خیالم که سپهرش تهٔ بالست
مجموعهٔ آن هر دو بدقت نکرستم
کر معجزه کفتن نتوان سحر حلالست
دیدم که دوات و قلم آن دو شهنشاه

Are, in the kingdom of their majesty, the drum and the beater.
They are both of them prodigies of skill, of reason, and of eloquence;
And angel-born fancy is an attendant of their privy-chamber.
The brightness of each of their Matlas, is like the sun in the midst of heaven:
The watery refulgence of their Misras, is as the radiant scimitar.
The compositions of the poets, their contemporaries,
In comparison of their well-set gems, are but shingles.
The pens in the powerful hands of the masters,
Are doubled into folds, like the slender reed, through shame of them.
That collection of all the beauties of writing, which Atkan has made,
Before their breath, is like a saddle-cover on the back of the north-wind.

در مملکت شوکتشان کوس و دوالست
آن هر دو بفضل آیت و برهان و بلاغت
در حجلهٔ آن هر دو پریزاده خیالست
عذابي هر مطلعشان مهر سپهریست
سیرابي هر مصرعشان تیغ مثالست
شیفتهٔ شعرائي که قریبند بایشان
نسبت بکهرسنجي آن هر دو سفالست
در چنگ دبیران قوي پنجه قلمها
پر پیچ وخم از خجلت آن هر دو چو نالست
جمع آنهمه اتقان بلطافت که نموده
پیش دمشان غاشیه بر دوش شمالست

Every page, written by the musky pen of these two gem-weighers,
Like the cheek of the fair, is all beauty-spots and charms of feature.
But, should any one open the eye of justice and discrimination,
This couplet of mine which follows, is a mirror that shews the reality.
In the poetry of Jemâl, though there is beauty to perfection,
Yet, it has not the gracefulness of the virgin muse of Kemâl.
His expression, in its purity, is a mirror that reflects his meaning;
His meaning is, by its grandeur, the Toghra of sublimity.
Every masked subtilty is a bag of musk;
Every single point, that he has, is more charming than the eye of the fawn.

هر صفحه ز مشکین رقم آن دو کهرسنج
چون عارض خوبان همه خط و همه خالست

امّا چو کسي ديدهٔ انصاف کشايد
اين مطلع من آينهٔ شاهد حالست
در شعر جمال ارچه جمالي بکمالست
امّا نه بزيبائي ابکار کمالست
لفظش بصفا آينهٔ شاهد معنيست
معني بشکوهيست که طغراي جلالست
هر نکتهٔ سر بستهٔ او نافهٔ مشکست
هر نقطهٔ او شوخ تر از چشم غزالست

The grace of his writing, is an angel from behind the curtain of invisibility;
The draught of his pen, is the new moon on the horizon of excellence.
A hundred times, I have perused his divan from end to end:
It is a Leila—that from head to foot, is all charm and allurement.
The men of art are beggars for each drop of his pen;
And, truly, the vein of its cloud, is a sea of munificence.
Though Jemâl is a master of language, nevertheless,
The perfection of that manner and method is the work of Kemâl.
Hazin's verdict on the poems of the two masters
Is this which I have said, and every thing else is mere controversy.
Such indeed has been the general opinion; for is not *Creator of Meanings*

فیض رقمش از تتق غیب سروشست
مدّ قلمش در افق فضل هلالست
صد بار ز سر تا سر دیوانش گذشتم
لیلیٰست که سر تا بقدم غنج و دلالست
دریوزه‌گر رشحهٔ اویند حریفان
الحق رك ابر قلمش بحر نوالست
اُستاد سخن گرچه جمالست ولیکن
تکمیل همان طرز و روش کار کمالست
تحقیق در اقوال دو استاد حزین‌را
این است که گفتیم و جز این محض جدالست
رای همه این بوده که خلاق معانی

The title given to him by the judges of perfection?
I am the touch-stone of perfection; and for others to dispute with me
By throwing their own opinion into the opposite scale, is a mistake.
This letter I wrote on the night of the eighth of Shavvâl
The calendar month, and in the year one thousand one hundred and thirty-two.

In this court of science, Shiraz, a great number of able and learned men were on terms of intimacy with me; to make mention of all of whom would cause great prolixity. The atmosphere of that country is perfectly agreeable to the good state of the nervous system, so that, however much a person applies himself to reflection and deep thought, he is not subject to any languid debility. During my stay there, I read and taught much; and I deeply studied so many books and treatises of science of various kinds, that it would be difficult to reckon up their numbers. Sometimes, taking a walk to delightful places and charming situations within the range of the town, I abundantly enjoyed such parties in the company of my friends.

آخر نه خطاب وي از اصحاب کمالست
معیار کمالم من و با من دگران را
در پلهٔ میزان خود اندیشه وبالست
این نامه نوشتم بشب هفتم شوّال
ماه این و هزار و صد و سي و دو بسالست

CHAPTER XIII.

A singular occurrence at Shiraz.

ONE day, I was sitting in one of the noble houses of that city, when a strange circumstance came before my view. I saw a man going on all fours, and naked, with a knife in each hand, which he struck with all his might against his body. His blood was flowing from numberless mortal wounds, which he had inflicted on his trunk, and head, and face. In this way he continued; and at every wound that he struck himself, he appeared to feel satisfaction and delight: but he said not a word. I asked what his circumstances were, and was told, that his name was Ismail, and that he had fallen in love with a person, who had since died. On being informed of the melancholy event, he fainted away, and when he came to himself again, went distracted with madness. He tore the clothes off his body, and seized the knives; and had now been some days in this condition. I said, Why do they not take the knives from him? They replied, His strength is so great, that it is most difficult to take the knives out of his hands. A number of persons threw him down, and attempted

to seize them; but he made supplications, and shewed such a disposition and feeling, that the persons said, If we take away his knives, he will expire the same instant. They therefore abandoned him to himself. The most wonderful circumstance was, that any wound, which he inflicted on himself in the morning, if he refrained from again striking the same spot, would by evening be perfectly healed. On subsequent enquiry concerning him I was told, that three days afterwards, having crawled out of the city, he struck a knife into his side, which cut his entrails. He fell, and yielded up his soul.

Lines.[1]

Those who have chosen to themselves the pain of love, are all
Quiet reposers on the road of martyrdom.
In the scene of conflict of the two worlds, victory belongs to love,
Though all his warriors meet the death of martyrs.

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[1] آنانکه غم عشق گزیدند همه
در کوي شهادت آرمیدند همه
در معرکهٔ دو کون فتح از عشقست
با آنکه سپاهٔ او شهیدند همه

کوي شهادت is properly the *street of martyrdom*, in allusion, I conjecture, to the parallel rows in which the Mahometans lay their tombs.

CHAPTER XIV.

Removal from Shiraz to Beiza.—Mention of the prince of eminent men, Seyyid Ali Khan.—Departure from Beiza to Aradakan of Shiraz.

AFTERWARDS, from Shiraz I removed to a place called *Beiza of Fars*, where, at the present time, no city is remaining; but the habitation consists of many populous villages. Here the sweetness of the air and water is remarkable, and the pleasant situations and delightful hunting-grounds are numerous. I staid a long time in these borders; where was residing the excellent, polite, noble, magnificent, and ingenious supporter of religion, Seyyid *Ali Khan*, son of Seyyid Nizâm Eddin Ahmed Hoseini, God have mercy on his soul! He was one of the nephews of the master of mankind, Mir Inâyat Addin Mansor Shirâzi, and an excellent collector of knowledge, particularly in the classics, wherein he was the first of his time. He composed Arabic verse with becoming elegance and force, and has a Divan of his own. In weighing the subtilties of Arabic poetry, I have not seen his equal. Of his compositions, one is An Extensive Commentary on the Sahifah Kamilah; another a book called Badiaiah, &c. He was high-minded in the extreme, of most laudable qualities,

and, in truth, a prodigy of his age. From Mecca the Revered he came to Isphahan, and was much respected by the late Sultan, who had the intention of honouring him with the dignity of Sadr Os Sodôr.[1] But the aspirers to that office exerted their endeavours, and used every influence against him. The lofty mind of the noble Seyyid scorned the intrigues of world-seeking men, and, retreating to Shiraz and Beiza, he chose retirement until the hour that he repaired to the mercy of God. For some days I enjoyed the benefit of his society; and he shewed perfect friendship and affection towards me.

Hajji *Nizam Addin Ali Ansari Isphahani* was also dwelling in that place. He came to me, and lectured with me on The Sharh Tajrid, and The Istibsâr Hadis. A great intimacy arose between us; and he was most praise-worthy in his man-

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[1] Before the reign of Nâdir Shah, the hierarchy of Persia enjoyed power and wealth. The chief pontiff, or Sadr Os Sodôr, was deemed the vicar of the Imàm, and exercised a very extended authority. The priesthood were all subordinate to this spiritual ruler, who resided at court, and nominated, with the approbation of the sovereign, the principal judges of the kingdom. The lands with which the different mosques and charitable buildings were endowed, produced a very great revenue; and the office instituted for the management of these funds acted entirely under the direction of the Sodr Os Sodôr, or Nuvvâb, as he was sometimes called, in allusion to his office as lieutenant of the holy Imàm.—Sir J. Malcolm's History of Persia. Vol. ii. p. 440.

ners, of high sentiments, detached from the world, and acquainted with its nature and pursuits. Here I wrote Scholia on The Omôr Aamah of The Sharh Tajrid, a Treatise on The Investigation of Vocal Music, and a Treatise on Logic.

In this place, I met with a learned man of the Magi, whom they called Dastôr; by which title it is the custom of the Magi to call their learned men. He became friendly with me; and I learnt from him all he knew concerning the principles, doctrines, and history of his sect, of which he was well informed. He was of an upright character, and of perfect temperance and sanctity.

Thence I went to *Ardakan of Shiraz*, where I saw Mawlana *Abd Alkerim Ardakâni*, who was one of the devout men, and skilled in prayer and holy words, and had high acquirements in Astrology. I enjoyed his intimate society for some time, and from him I gained the solution of certain difficult questions. He repaired shortly after to the mercy of God, at the age of ninety years.

In that town I also saw Mir *Abd Annebi Isphahani*, who was an inhabitant of Kâm Firôz, of Fars, and was some time on terms of familiarity with me. He was an honest, well educated Seyyid, thoroughly versed in law and tradition, and of much research and information. At that time, he had written a treatise on Inheritances, which he shewed me. It was written with depth and perspicuity.

CHAPTER XV.

Return to Shiraz.—Removal from Shiraz to Fasa.—Mention of the learned doctor, Sheikh Salam Allah.—Journey to Kâzerôn, and acquaintance in that town.

THENCE I returned again to Shiraz; and as, amidst my perusal of various books, certain extraordinary words, some noble discoveries, and many illustrious and valuable gains of knowledge, had fallen in my way, which it is not easy at all times to become master of, and which can be attained by few even of a host of profound investigators; and whereas also there occurred to my defective mind a multitude of noble results and conceits, and a diversity of sublime truths; it became my wish, to arrange them in a collection which should consist of precious and rare things, and excel the famous magazines of preceding literati. I began, therefore, to write this work, and gave it the name of Moddat Ol Omr.[1] By degrees, whatever suited its quality was registered in this collection, and during my

[1] The Sheikh gave the name, *Moddat Ol Omr*, or Length of Life, to his Literary Magazine, as it was his intention to continue all his life to add to its stores.

travels through Fârs a considerable quantity of it was written. In this way, by the first of the year one thousand one hundred and thirty-five, it amounted to about seven thousand couplets; when, during the revolution which occurred that year at Isphahan, it was carried away in plunder, with my library and all that I had; and I have sadly to lament the loss of this manuscript. Had the work been completed, and submitted to the inspection of the learned world, it would have been judged worthy of being laid up as a treasure in the stores of discerning monarchs.

From Shiraz I went to the town of *Fasa*, which is one of the warm countries of Fars, intending to go thence to Kâzerôn. In those parts, I thoroughly informed myself of the circumstances of the godly Sofi, the model of perfect men, Sheikh *Salâm Allah* of Sholistan of Shiraz; who in that country, having retired from the world, had taken up his abode in a cave; and I hastened to wait upon him. I found him surpassing all that I had imagined of the greatest saints, and such as are rare indeed in the world. The line of his superiors and predecessors reached in uninterrupted succession up to Maarôf Karakhi; God sanctify their souls! I staid some time in a small town which was near that spot; and for many days had the happiness to attend the Sheikh. At length, he approved of and accepted my good will and sincerity, which were of the purest intention; and he shewed me

the most generous kindness and affection. A few nights and days I passed in the cave with him; and I petitioned him, that I might pass the remainder of my life on the same spot. He would not consent; but dismissed me thence with great civility. If, up to the present time, the grace of obtaining any happiness has been granted me, I reckon it due to the blessing of the care, and the regard of affection, bestowed on me, by that prodigy of the universe; and my tongue exerts its eloquence to this effect; [1]

However much I am become a melancholy and infirm old man;
Whenever I recollect your countenance, I grow young again.
On that day, the gate of meaning was opened to my mind,
When I became a dweller at the threshold of the Magian Chief.

Afterwards I went to Kâzerôn. One of the principal men of that city, and a native of the place, was Khojah *Hosâm Eddin*, whom I found to rank among the most liberal characters of the age. To me he was a thorough friend.

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[1] هر چند پیر خسته دل و ناتوان شدم
هر گه که یاد روي تو کردم جوان شدم
آن روز بر دلم در معنی کشوده شد
کز ساکنان درگهٔ پیر مغان شدم

These verses are a quotation from Hafiz.

Of the native literati of that city, one was Mawla *Mohammed Yosof*, a graduated Sofi,[1] who had passed his academical degrees, and wrote a most beautiful hand. He possessed a powerful genius for poetry, an humble and pious disposition, and was pure in his manners, and conversation. He died at Shiraz, during the period of the Afghan conquest.

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[1] عارف This Arabic term signifies "having attained knowledge; scientific." The third stage of Sofyism, says Sir J. Malcolm, is that of Knowledge; and the disciple who arrives at it is deemed to have attained supernatural knowledge; or, in other words, to be inspired: and he is supposed, when he reaches this state, to be equal to the Angels.

This stage is by others computed as the second; the first being the Road, طريقة and not Humanity, ناسوت which is more properly considered as a preliminary qualification, than a degree.

CHAPTER XVI.

Arrival at Sholistân and Jahrom—at the town of Dârâb—at Lar.—Entrance into Bender Abbâsi.—Undertaking of a journey to Mecca, and setting out by sea.—Being cast on the shore of Ammân.—Arrival at Maskat—at Bahrein—at Bender Kang.

THENCE I went to *Sholistan* and the town of *Jahrom*, among the excellent and learned men of which place were, Mir *Abd Al Hosein*, and Mawlana *Mohammed Salih*, whose society I enjoyed. Both were versed in Law and Tradition, and were of extreme temperance and sobriety.

I then went to Dârâb, one of the pleasant situations of that warm climate. In truth it is a very delightful and well cultivated and frequented spot. Here I wrote my treatise called Lavamia Moshricali, on the investigation of the meaning of Wâhid and Wahdat, and some other treatises on difficult questions in Divinity.

Afterwards I proceeded to the town of Lâr. One of the principal natives of that place, was Mirza *Ashraf Jahân*. He possessed much wealth and power, and was not destitute of understanding and ability.

Of the chiefs of that town, and a native of the place, was also Mir *Mohammed Taki*, of some celebrity, who was master of vast wealth, and one of the worldly proprietors of that time. The meanest of his servants and agents were in possession of abundant riches and dignity. Both these gentlemen shewed much friendship and affection for me. Mirza Ashraf Jahan I afterwards saw at Najaf Ashraf[1] on my arrival there. He had abandoned the world, and, in the habit of a Fakir, was living in the vicinity of that holy threshold, where he was afterwards buried. On my second visit to Lar in the sequel, the above-mentioned Mir Mohammed Taki had died, and his son, Mir Mohammed by name, who was a man of great worth and of laudable qualities, had become, by the course of events, necessitous of his daily sustenance, and was in the troop of paupers of that city.

Of the learned natives of the place, one was Mawla *Nasr Allah*, who, having studied under many of the celebrated masters, possessed superior skill in the various sciences, and, as long as I remained in that country, spent most of his time in my society.

Thence I proceeded to *Bender Abbâsi*. Here

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[1] Najaf Ashraf is a place not far from Cofa, on the right bank of the river Euphrates, where the remains of Ali are said to repose. It is also called Meshed Ali, and is much resorted to by pilgrims of the Shia sect.

were some ships bound to Mecca the Revered. I became inclined, with the small means I had, to resolve on that voyage, and I went on board a vessel. The air of the sea, and the movements of the ship, disordered my health, and I suffered severe illness. After some days, there came on rain and a heavy storm. The ship's crew gave up all hopes of life; but the Almighty granted us salvation. After much fatigue and hardship, we arrived on one of the coasts of *Ammán*. The people of that country, who are mostly heretics and sea-robbers, seized our ship and plundered the cargo; and leaving the company on the desert shore, went away. After some days, and with the greatest difficulty, I reached *Maskat* (مسكات), which is commonly called مسقط, one of their cities, and staid there the space of a month; during which I obtained a little repose. For that year, the season and the means of performing the journey to Hijaz no longer remained. I determined on returning, and having no alternative, I embarked in a vessel, and sailed to the island of Bahrein. The inhabitants of that place profess the true faith, and are a good people. Arabic learning, and the sciences of Law and Tradition, are in some degree current among them. One of their doctors and great men was Sheikh *Mohammed*, Sheikh Al Islam, who was perfectly kind to me. At his request, I staid there near a month. The length of the island is about ten farsangs, and its breadth four. It is all palm

plantations, and is overspread with cultivation; and the multitude of its inhabitants is great. Its waters are sweet and digestible; but its atmosphere is exceeding hot, and, on account of the surrounding sea, is disagreeable.

Then, going on board the vessel, I sailed to the populous sea-port, *Bender Kang*, which is the best harbour of Fars. Thence I set out on my travels through the cold countries[1] of that province; and during that journey few places of Fars escaped a visit from me.

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[1] Both the southern and northern provinces of Persia have a cold and a warm region. The former is the higher and mountainous part, within land: the latter, those plains which stretch along the shores of the Caspian Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the Indian Ocean. The districts of Fars above the mountains enjoy a fine climate, and are not subject to the oppressive heats of the lower and maritime parts. The same may be said of Gilân and Mazenderân; so that, in Persia, the difference of temperature appears to be more dependent on elevation and soil, than upon distance from the equator.

CHAPTER XVII.

Return to Shiraz.—Arrival at the Court of Worship, Yazd.

I WAS now returned to Shiraz, and my mind had become attached to the idea of abandoning the society of mankind and the habitation of cities, and retiring to some mountain with shelter and water, where I should content myself with what the true provider might destine for me. My heart had been at once turned away and weaned from its affection to mankind and the allurements of fortune. I found not the circumstances of the world conformable to my disposition, and wherever I heard that there was a cave in a mountain, with a spring of water and some trees, I was always desirous to go to see it, and immediately formed the design of taking up my abode there. But my friends and connexions interfered, and my attachment to my parents, and the excess of their love for me, proved a strong obstacle.

I was at Shiraz, when a letter came to me

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from my father, at the top of which was this quatrain :[1]

On my heart, I have wounds from your absence;
In my affairs, I have strictures from fortune:
Amidst all this grief, do not you also break
Your compact of fidelity; I have distresses enough without that.

In these words something was involved, which disquieted my affectionate heart. I therefore set out for Isphahan, and travelled by the road of the Court of Worship, *Yazd*. In that city, was a company of learned and able men; and it contained a population, whose qualities and conduct were good and laudable. It is one of the finest towns of Irak. There I met with *Rostam*, a Magus and celebrated Astrologer, who had many books, on his own religion, on philosophy, and on the religion of Mahomet, and was skilled in Astronomy, Astrology, Geomancy, Arithmetic, and in the Canons of Celestial Observation. I was much in his society, and saw in his possession an Obser-

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[1] در دل ز فراق خستگیها دارم
در کار ز چرخ بستگیها دارم
با این همه غم تو نیز پیمان وفا
مشکن که جز این شکستگیها دارم

vation, which Ishmarat, a Magus, had written down four-and-thirty thousand years before. I looked summarily into it. It had many faults and deficiencies. He had laid the ground-work of the regulation of the celestial motions at the date of the creation of Keiomors,[1] who, in their opinion, was the *father of mankind*, of which the word *Adam* is the interpretation. According to him, thirty-four thousand and odd years are passed since that epoch. There is some strangeness in this: for the commonalty of the modern Magi do not reckon such a length of time to the creation of man.

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[1] "Keiomors, who, according to the authority of the Dabistan, was only the first king of the fifth dynasty of the monarchs of Persia, was considered, by the followers of Zoroaster, as the first created being: and Mahomedan writers, who follow the Jewish chronology, trace his descent to Noah, but term him the first sovereign of that kingdom. The name of Keiomors appears to be a Shanscrit word, and signifies a 'body of clay.' He is termed Gil Shah, or 'king of clay,' by all Persian authors, which is evidently a translation of the term in the Zend-a-vesta." Sir J. Malcolm's History of Persia, vol. i. p. 199.

CHAPTER XVIII

Return to Isphahan.—Mention of the illustrious Master, the late Mawlana Mohammed Sadic.—Arrangement of a second Divan.

I THEN set out for Isphahan, and waited on my parents, and visited my brothers and friends. This was one of the great mercies of God. I continued to be deeply employed in teaching, reading, and writing on scientific objects and questions; and I frequented the society of the eminent scholars of that great city. At that time my parents wished, that I should resolve to marry, and used their utmost efforts to persuade me. A crowd of my equals in rank and of the grandees, shewed a desire for the connexion. But through my application and immense love to science, I had no inclination to marriage, thinking it would be a hindrance to my leisure, and that celibacy was more suitable to my tranquillity and freedom: so that notwithstanding all their endeavours I would not consent.

Afterwards I attended the lectures of the Emperor of the Sophists, the most excellent of solid philosophers, the great Mawla and most wise

liberalist, the theatre of sciences and truths, the accomplished in all the wisdom of the ancients and moderns, the reviver of philosophy and father of virtues, Mawlana *Mohammed Sâdic of Ardistan*, God have mercy on his soul! who was an inhabitant of Isphahan, and devoted his time to the instruction of a multitude of ingenious and excellent young men. He was one of the princes of philosophers; and ages must elapse, before another learned man shall rise up equal to him. He had boundless affection for me, and with him I read many both known and unknown books of speculative and practical wisdom. The obligations which I owe to that accomplished philosopher, are more than to any other of my instructors, and, till the time of his decease, my opportunities of profiting by attendance upon him, were not interrupted. In the year one thousand one hundred and thirty-four, during the siege of Isphahan, he repaired to the divine mercy.

At this period, I wrote a Treatise, named Towfik, on the Agreement of Philosophy and the Sacred Law, a Treatise on the Explanation of the Assertions of the Ancient Wise Men among the Magi on the Beginning of the World, Scholia on the Commentary on Hikmat Ishrâk and The Fragrances of Paradise, a Treatise to disprove the doctrine of the Metempsychosis for the benefit of the Naturalists, a Commentary on the Treatise, called

Kalimat Attasavvof, of Sheikh Ishrak, Scholia on the Divinity of the Shefâ and The Feraid Olfavaid, Scholia on the Commentary on The Heyakil Onnôr, a Treatise on the Medarij Horôf and The Farasnâmeh, and many other compositions, and answers on various other questions, which, from their multiplicity, I cannot wholly reçall to mind at the present time. The poetry also, which during that period had occurred to me, being collected together made a Divan of, I suppose, ten thousand couplets. This was my second collection of the kind. I began likewise at Isphahan a Mesnavi, which I called Tedzkeret Elâshikin. The beginning of it is this :

Cup-bearer, of orthodox wine,
Which carries away the darkness of idolatry from amongst us ;
Which to our gloomy hearts, is like a flame of fire,
Or the mid-night illumination of Mount Sinai ;

ساقي ز مي موحّدانه
ظلمت بر شرك از ميانه
با تيره دلان چو لمعهٔ نور
در نيم شبان تجلّي طور

مي موحّدانه is literally, *wine of the acknowledgment of divine unity*, opposed to the dry dullness and gloomy distraction of polytheism.

Give us goblets, that we may move aside from ourselves,
And, out of ourselves in ecstacy, take our way towards the Incomparable.
Musician, put thy heart-attracting breath to the reed,
And shorten this dark night of separation.
Raise the curtain from the morning of conjunction:
Convert into the dawn of day the eve of our painful banishment;
That I may be freed at length from this disunion,
And may gain the presence of the object of my love.
Cup-bearer, a goblet of Magian wine
Fresh-drawn from the jar of the wine-house

در دہ کہ ز خود کرانہ کیریم
بیخود رہ آن یکانہ کیریم
مطرب دم دلکشي بہ نيْ کن
ایں تیرہ شب فراق طي کن
از صبح وصال پردہ بر کیر
شام غم هجر در سحر کیر
تا باز رهم ازیں جدائي
کیرم سر کوي آشنائي
ساقي قدحي مي مغانہ
سر جوش خم شرابخانہ

In verse the fourteenth, سر جوش خم is word for word, *the surface of ebullition* or *fermentation of the wine-jar*. In the East, spirituous liquors are usually kept in jars, and are

Pour into the palate of the dry-lipped Hazin,
As a libation to his fiery heart:
Till I can drag myself away to the world of water,
And be at rest and relieved from this fever and heat.
Musician, thy breath gives brightness to the soul;
For the dead of heart it is the inspiration of the Messiah.
We are shrunk, as stagnant blood in the darkened cuticle:
A lancet is good for a congealed vein.
For a dead heart the cold body is a grave:
The sound of thy reed is the voice of the last trumpet.

This Mesnavi was of about four thousand cou-

در کام حزین تشنه لب کن
نذر دل آتشین نسب کن
تا رخت کشم بعالم آب
آسوده شوم ازین تب و تاب
مطرب نفست جلاي جانهاست
با مرده دلان دم مسیحاست
تنکیم چو خون مرده در پوست
نشتر برك فسرده نیکوست
دل مرده تن فسرده کور است
آواز نـي تو بانك صور است

drawn either by dipping or by the syphon; so that it is easy to take the strongest part, which rises to the top.

In verse the seventeenth, the expression رخت کشیدن is remarkable. It means literally *to drag one's clothes*, and is used in the sense of *removing*.

plets. It contained a story, which is told of Asmaï, who on a stone that I saw on the road through Tâyif, had written this couplet;[1]

Arabic.

Listen, ye troop of Lovers! for God's sake, tell me,
When love is grown strong on a youth, how shall he act?

The whole story is well known.

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[1] أَلَا يَا مَعْشَرَ الْعُشَّاقِ بِاللَّهِ خَبِّرُوا
إِذَا اشْتَدَّ عِشْقٌ بِالْفَتَى كَيْفَ يَصْنَعُ

CHAPTER XIX.

Decease of my learned father, light be the earth on his tomb! —Departure from Isphahan to Shiraz.—Arrangement of a third Divan.

In short, I led a tranquil life in Isphahan until, in the year one thousand one hundred and twenty-seven, as I before mentioned, my learned father, light be the earth on his tomb! arrived in the vicinity of the mercy of God.[1] In consequence of this event, confusion made its appearance in my affairs. Two years afterwards, my mother also died. My grandmother, on my mother's side, with the whole of our dependents, remained in the house; and my two brothers also, who employed themselves in study, were exceeding worthy and well-behaved young men, and, in their conduct towards me, shewed kindness and propriety. By these fatal events, my mind became disturbed,

[1] Some may think it uncouth in English, to diversify the history of a man's death, by a new importation of such Persian phrases. In my opinion, however, the employment of them is much preferable to the hackneyed repetition of the smooth-worn expressions,—*he departed this life*,—*he abandoned this for a better world*—*he breathed his last*, &c.

and to tarry in my paternal mansion, disagreeable. I again travelled to Shiraz, and staid some time in that city; though here also circumstances were changed, by the death of most of my former friends. However, I consoled myself, as well as I could, and, by my rule of habit, sometimes I spent hours in the society of the learned, or in writing on various subjects; at other times, whether I would or not, my mind was invaded by a crowd of verses, which I again, during my stay at Shiraz, collected together, and formed into a third Divan, consisting of three or four thousand couplets. But my mind was so horror-struck with the world, that I could familiarise myself with nothing; and though young, I regarded the world and its pleasures with so much contempt and detestation, that my heart was altogether inaccessible to their approaches. From the conquest which solicitude and care had made over me, that affection and violent love for science, and for teaching and writing on the sciences, which I had formerly nourished, became cold and feeble; and my constant desire was, to put on the habit of the Dervish, and to choose a retirement in some corner: but through my connexion with my father's relicts, and their destitute condition, this project was impracticable.

CHAPTER XX.

Return to Isphahan.

I RETURNED again to Isphahan, and saw my brothers, my father's connexions, and my friends. Since the death of my venerable uncle in Lahijan, by the progressive manifestation of untoward events, and the confusion which arose from various causes in most places of Gilan, the means of subsistence, which came to us from our hereditary possessions, and were our chief resource in life, had begun every year to decrease: and after the death of my father, by reason of the ruin of those places, and there being no person of skill in business and ability to remedy grievances in that province, much loss was sustained even in that which should have been ours; and what came to us in the year was not sufficient for the necessary expenditure of a month. At last, by the invasion of a Russian army into that province, and the increase of anarchy and confusion, our income was at once cut off, and most of our property and estates fell away from all profit and cultivation. The little which did remain, was diverted to the

possession of others, and the small portion, which by their own measure, they gave to the daughters and relicts of my deceased uncle, was insufficient even for the expenses of the latter; so that turning away our expectations from that quarter, we were reduced to live on what remained in our hands. As to myself, I had no disposition or ability for the acquisition of worldly riches; nor have I now: and to have recourse to any person, and, displaying to him my wants, to accept his favour and generosity, however many sincere friends I might have among the exalted Sovereigns and the most beneficent princes of mankind, to me, with my nice sense of honour and delicate high-mindedness, would be impossible. My inclination is, to confer benefits, and to spread gifts among the whole human race. With such a propensity, to live empty-handed and shorn of ability to the extent of my wish, is the most disagreeable and vexatious of all things, and the hardest of misfortunes.

A Philosopher was asked, who of all men in the world stands in the worst condition? He answered,[1] *That person, whose mind expands far, whose wishes range wide, but whose power is contracted.* It is utterly impossible for the soul of the high-minded, to resign itself and body to meanness. The ways

[1] من بعدت همته واتسعت امنيته وقصرت مقدرته

of gaining what our wants demand, by laudable methods, are, at most times, not to be found; yet the alternative of baseness and infamy is ineligible to the noble heart.

Lines.[1]

The free-minded man would die of destitution;
He would never fill his belly from the alms of a brother.

How well has Sheikh Ferîd Oddin Attâr written on this subject:

Lines.[2]

A person asked our venerable friend,
What he liked? He said, Abuse;
For every thing else they give me,
Besides abuse, lays me under obligation.

However, it was not long, before the distress of Isphahan and its blockade took place. The brief history of that affair, one of the most surprising turns of the juggler, Fortune, is this:

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[1] بمرد از تهي دستي آزاد مرد
ز پهلوي غيري شكم پر نكرد

[2] يكي پرسيد از آن فرخنده ايام
كه تو چه دوست داري كفت دشنام
كه هر چيزي دكر كه ميدهندم
بجز دشنام منت مي نهندم

A tribe of Kilizchi[1] Afghans, who constituted the meaner part of the population of Candahar, and a certain number of whom were from time to time enlisted among the troops of that frontier, and maintained themselves in the service of the Governor there: of this body, a person named Mir Veis, was the Reyyis, or Chief. This man, by fraud and stratagem, murdered on the hunting-ground of the village of Dah Sheikh, the Amir Olomarâ, or Commander-in-chief, of that frontier, Shah Navâz Khan; and having surprised the fort of Candahar, he gained possession of abundant treasures, and was supported by the whole nation of Afghans. From the vestibule of the Soltan Shah Hosein Safavi, whom God cherish in his clemency! that preparation of means, which might have extinguished the fire of this rebellion, never obtained a state of forwardness to ensure its success; and the aforesaid Afghans maintained their possession of the fort, till Mir Veis died. After him his son, Mahmôd by name, stood in his father's place, and extended the hand of usurpation and tyranny

[1] I should be glad to have the means of discovering by what process Sir John Malcolm, in his History of Persia, has converted this word into *Ghiljee*. The superior portion of the inhabitants of Candahar, with whom the Kilizehis are contrasted, were the members of the Abdâli Tribe, whose opulence warded them against the conflicts with their Persian rulers, a galling exposure to which caused the rebellion of the inferior Afghans, and brought on their invasion of Irak, as here recounted.

over those territories. Sometimes in that kingdom he assumed the state and spread the carpet of sovereignty, and sometimes he transmitted humble petitions to the Court of his Soltan. Many ages having now elapsed, since civilization, tranquillity, and the accomplishment of all worldly blessings had attained a state of perfection in the beautiful provinces of Irân, these were become a fit object for the affliction of the malignant eye. The indolent King and princes, and the army that sought nothing but repose and for near a hundred years had not drawn the sword from the scabbard, would not even trouble themselves to think of quelling this disturbance, until Mahmôd, with a large army, marched into the provinces of Kerman and Yazd, and having committed much plunder and devastation, proceeded on his route to Isphahan. This happened in the early part of the year one thousand one hundred and thirty-four (A. D. 1721).

When he approached this court of empire, the Itimâd Addowla, or Chief Minister, with all the princes and army that were in attendance on the King, received orders to repel him. One of the causes of the fatal events, that followed, was, that over an army composed of so many persons, no two of them, from the recklessness to which they had abandoned themselves, and the insincerity of their minds, could be brought to agree, that one should be the Amir, or Commander, and the other

the Sardâr, or Leader. In short, the two armies met in the environs of the city; the Afghans were victorious, the Omaras completely defeated. The greatest part of the population of the neighbouring villages, abandoning their habitations, retired with all their appurtenances into the city, and created confusion among a people, who had never even imagined a similar disorder. The eyes of all were on the princes, destitute as the latter were of plan and counsel, and it remained impossible for the commonalty to seek a remedy, as they might otherwise have done, in the destruction of the enemy by their own means. Mahmôd, advancing with his army to the gate of the city, took up his quarters in the buildings of Farrokh Abâd, which of themselves formed a city and strong fort: and whatever necessary supplies he wanted, he brought to his army from the large villages near him, which had been deserted by their owners; and thus making himself master of stores for many years collected, he destroyed by fire, what his own consumption required not.

For my part, when I looked with the eye of prudence towards the event of this affair, I was reminded of my father's dying injunction, and became desirous to leave the city. At that time it was still possible to remove with one's family and furniture, the roads not being yet blocked up; and for two or three months afterwards, there was no difficulty in going out of the town. But my

friends and relatives would not suffer me, and assailed me with speeches, that were foreign to the purpose. This was the juncture, when the removal of the King from the capital would have been productive of the best effects; for he had no means left there of standing up against the enemy; and might have retired with his family and courtiers, and as much of his treasure as he pleased, to any part of his dominions, the whole of the provinces of Irân, except Candahar, being still in his possession. If he had escaped from that scene of famine, all the various chiefs and armies of his kingdom would have joined him, and he might have applied a remedy to his distracted affairs. It is certain, that this was the only course advisable to be pursued at that time, and I made my opinion understood by some two or three of the Soltan's confidential friends, inciting them with all my might to abandon the opposite design. The liberation of Isphahan itself was included in my scheme; for, after the departure of the Shah, the enemy would have had no leisure to pursue his designs and efforts against that capital, but must have looked to his own safety: and the citizens would have employed every method to remove him from a situation to annoy them; so that he would have been compelled either to open to himself by time and labour a return to the established place of his authority, by the same road which he had come; or to prepare himself for

battles with a powerful Soltan. In every point of view this plan of conduct was advantageous; and its adoption would have saved that immense population from perishing by misery and famine. But this was unsuitable to the fixed decree of fate; and certain persons of inconsiderate minds interfered to prevent it; so happened that which happened. How apt, in this place, are the words of the wise Abo'L Casim Ferdowsi.

Lines.[1]

The earth is the shooting ground of fortune:
Our body is her butt, and her bow the sphere.
When fate approaches, it drives away caution;
When destiny moves, it closes every pass.
We are all equally the prey of death,
Whether the head be under a crown, or a helmet.
The occupation of the lofty orbit is thus:
In one hand it bears a turban, in the other a halter;
When a person sits delighted with his turban on his head,

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[1] زمین هست آماچگاهٔ زمـــان
نشانه تـن ما و چرخش کـمان
قضا چـون در آید براند حذر
قدر چون بجنبد به بندد کذر
شکاریـم یکسر همه پیـش مرك
سري زیر تاج و سري زیر ترك
چنین اسـت کردار چرخ بلند
بـدستي کـلاه و بـدستي کمند
چو شادان نشیند کسي با کلاه

It steals him away by the noose of the halter;
Whether his diadem be exalted as the clouds,
Or his bravery equal to the chase of the lion.
Every clod of earth, every brick has vegetation:
Happy is he, who has sown only good seed.
If the earth should disclose its secret,
And shew its end as well as its beginning;
Its lap would be seen filled with wearers of crowns,
Its bosom with the blood of noble cavaliers;
Its skirt, with learned men;
The collar of its shirt, with beauteous faces.
Let a diadem be on thy head, or a helmet,

بخم کمندش رباید ز کاه
کجا آنکه بر سود تاجش بابر
کجا آنکه بودي شکارش هزبر
نهالي همه خاك دارند و خشت
خنك آنکه جز تخم نیکي نکشت
زمین کر کشاده کند راز خویش
نماید سر انجام و آغاز خویش
کنارش پر از تاجداران بود
برش پر ز خون سواران بود
پر از مرد دانا بود دامنش
پر از خوبرخ چاك پیرامنش
چه افسر بود بر سرت بر چه ترك

The last verse but three presents an example of the preposition repeated after its regimen, بر سرت بر; an occurrence not unfrequent in the Persian language, to which it seems to be confined.

It must be passed through by the point of the arrow of death,
Every person, who has a mind stocked with sense and judgement,
Will give his attention to the affair of another abode.

After three or four months, the circumstances of the besieged became greatly distressed, and provisions fell short[1] in that vast town, filled with

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کز او بگذرد پر و پیکان مرگ
هر آنکس که دارد بدل هوش و رای
بسازد همی کار دیگر سرای

[1] Sir John Malcolm thus describes the dreadful famine caused by the siege of Isphahan: "The flesh of horses, camels, and mules, was so dear, that none but the King, some of the nobles, and the wealthiest citizens could afford to purchase it. Though the Persians abhor dogs as unclean, they ate greedily of them, as well as of other forbidden animals, as long as they were to be obtained. After these supplies were gone, they fed upon the leaves and bark of trees, and on leather, which they softened by boiling; and when this sad resource was exhausted, they began to devour human flesh. Men, with their eyes sunk, their countenances livid, and their bodies feeble and emaciated with hunger, were seen in crowds, endeavouring to protract a wretched existence by cutting pieces from the bodies of those who had just expired. In many instances the citizens slew each other; and parents murdered their children to furnish the horrid meal. Some, more virtuous, poisoned themselves and their family, that they might escape the guilt of preserving life by such means. The streets, the squares, the royal gardens, were covered with carcases; and the river Zainderood was so corrupted by dead bodies, that it was hardly

such innumerable crowds of people. Gradually no provisions were at all to be found; for the Afghans beginning to mind every side of the town, raised a fort at every two parasangs or less, and left there a company of guards. Constantly also troops of horse relieved each other in riding round the walls. At this period, driven by want of victuals, persons were continually escaping from the town in disguise and secretly from every nook and corner; and the Afghans suffered them to pass without notice.[1] As within the city almost every kind of improper food was used, multitudes were daily attacked with leprous tumours and bowel disorders, which brought on their destruction. But such were the liberality and generosity witnessed in the people of the city, that notwithstanding the loaf of bread rose to four or five ashrafis,[2] no individual, either foreigner, or native, was known to have died of hunger, or to have been

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possible to drink its waters." History of Persia, Vol. i. p. 640.

[1] This does not agree with Sir J. Malcolm's account, who says: "These evils were increased by the cruelty of the Afghans, who put to death, without distinction of age or sex, all who tried to escape from this scene of calamity." Vol. i. p. 641.

[2] "A Mahomedan author of respectability," says Sir J. Malcolm, meaning probably our Sheikh Mohammed Ali, "who was in Isphahan during the siege, informs us, that a small loaf of coarse bread sold for four gold mohurs, (eight pounds,) and that the flesh of asses was esteemed a dainty."

reduced to mendicity. If any one really did perish by famine, it must have been that he concealed his condition from his friends. At last, however, things were brought to such a pitch, that no food was to be found; and then the people died in crowds. The few that survived, were weak and sickly; and of every class, the number of skilful, able, eminent, great, and noble men who died during that calamity, is known only to the Almighty. Amidst these circumstances my condition was such, and the fortune that passed over me so extraordinary, as the great searcher of secrets is alone acquainted with. Every thing, that the hand of my ability could reach to, I expended; and, except my library, scarcely any thing remained unsold in my house. Though of little or no utility in those circumstances, I distributed near two thousand volumes of my books; the remainder of my collection became the plunder of the Afghans.

During the latter days of the siege I was attacked by severe illness; and my two brothers, my grandmother, and the whole of the dwellers in my house, died, so that my mansion was emptied of all but two or three infirm old women-servants, who attended me, till my disorder began to abate.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Author's escape from Isphahan.—Entry of Mahmôd into Isphahan, and his usurpation of royalty.—Accession of Shah Tahmâsb to the royal throne of his inheritance, in the Court of Sovereignty, Cazvîn.—Arrival of the Author at Khonsâr —at Khorram Abâd.

By the blessing of divine providence, when, from the violence of my anxiety, and the excessive weakness which was a consequence of my disorder, my situation was become most extraordinary, and at the moment that the general distress had reached its extremity, in the early part of the month Moharram of the year one thousand one hundred and thirty-five, I changed my clothes, and in company of two or three of the greatest lords, my friends, having quitted the city in peasant's disguise, I arrived at a small town, distant two farsangs from the city. Shortly afterwards, some of the relatives and courtiers of the king, taking him with them, repaired to the residence of Mahmôd, and had an interview with him.

On the next day, which was the fifteenth of the aforesaid month Moharram, Mahmôd, having

entered the city, alighted at the Palace, and had the prone recited, and coin struck, in his name. A multitude of persons who had still remained in Isphahan, obtained pardon and clemency; and the late Soltan (Hosein) was placed in a corner of his own palace, and committed to the custody of a guard. On the intelligence of these events, the high and mighty prince, Shah Tahmâsb, who, during the severity of the siege, had been sent forth with a crowd of his attendants, and had arrived at the Court of Sovereignty, *Cazvin*, ascended and seated himself on the royal throne of his inheritance.

For myself, having taken my departure from the small place I mentioned, and having, with the greatest difficulty, performed some most perilous stages, I arrived in safety at the town, Khonsâr. Here I staid some time, as winter was come on, and the roads were full of snow. At length, having provided myself with what was requisite for the journey, I set out and arrived at *Khorram Abâd*,[1] which is the chief seat of government of Loristân Feili, and is a highly cultivated and populous country, well watered, and of salubrious air. The amenity of its situation is much celebrated. In extent, this province is sixteen days' journey in

[1] This town is about eighty miles from Kermanshah. It stands at the foot of a mountain, and is protected by a rude fort, built on a small conical hill in the centre of the town.

length, and as many in breadth. It has some delightful towns and villages, and a variety of charming and romantic spots. From the most ancient times, it has been the abode of the Feili Tribe, which exceeds one hundred thousand families. At that time it was governed by Ali Merdân Khan, son of Hosein Khan, of the tribe of Feili, and of the house of the ancient race and great lords of the exalted Safavean family. He had a particular friendship and affection for me, and was, in truth, one of the bravest and most accomplished men of the age. To the disorders and fatal symptoms which shewed themselves in the constitution of these eventful times, his mind and inclination were bent on applying the most appropriate remedies. But, notwithstanding the strength of the force under his command, and the multitude that was gathered around him, his efforts, from obstacles which it would be tedious to mention, were unproductive of any effect, and were refused the concurrence of those who might have served him. In this place I halted, having no longer the power to move; and, through the severity of my sufferings, I was filled with lamentation and complaints against the attacks of my adverse fortune. In the strange condition to which my afflictions and my distressing adventures had reduced me, the powers of my mind fell dormant; and the page of my memory, becoming void of every particle of knowledge with which it had been formerly inscribed, now pre-

sented a perfect blank. I had no power left me of speaking or putting words together; and the only trace of life that remained in me, was the feeble connexion of my breath with my helpless body. In this state I continued a whole year; at the end of which period my health returned; and that was ascertained and made evident to me, which has been mentioned by Sheikh Ibn Gharbi in the section Idrisi of his book, Fisôs El Hikam. I afterwards wrote a full commentary on the Sheikh's saying; and from those who read my work it remained not concealed, that the description of the strange occurrences and events that befell me, was a manifestation of wonders and a prodigy of fortune, wherein minuteness of detail would exceed all measure of possibility. With that which may be described, should freedom be given to the pen and nothing be excused or omitted, whole volumes might be filled, and my entire life would be engaged in the performance. How then in these few moments of leisure is the recital possible even of a small portion and sample of my adventures? A little out of much, one among a thousand of the occurrences must be briefly stated.

In Khorram Abâd was assembled a company of noble, pious, and learned men, who took an affectionate interest in my welfare. The lords and princes also of that province I found with a becoming demeanour and praise-worthy qualities.

The sincere and pure friendship of all of them in my regard was very great; and in their society, and in walks, and excursions, they kept me wholly and agreeably employed. In the course of time, I explored every part of that country.

Among its principal inhabitants was that pillar of eminent and generous men, that model of great lords, *Amir Seyyid Ali Môsavi*,[1] with his brother *Amir Seyyid Hosein*. The former had succeeded as heir to the prince of excellent men Mir Aziz Allah Jezâïri, and had been near sixty years resident in these parts. He was exceedingly respected, and resorted to for advice by the community of that country; in most of the sciences possessed perfect ability; and for piety and temperance was unrivalled. He, indeed, was a prince of exalted conduct, and high estate; and his love and regard for me were carried to such a pitch, as to be incapable of further increase. His brother, also, was a most excellent noble-

[1] This Seyyid is stiled *Môsavi*, as being descended by a minor branch from the seventh Imâm Môsa El Kâdzim, son of Jafar, son of Mohammed Bâkir, son of Ali Zein Al Âbidin, son of Hosein the younger son of Ali. Môsa was the father of the Imâm Rizâ; whose sepulchre is so much visited by Persian pilgrims at Tôs in Khorasan. That town is now commonly called Meshed, that is, the place of martyrdom of the Imâm. To the enclosure wherein his tomb is raised the Persians give the name of Rowzat Rizâvi, or the Garden of Rizâ, and esteem it the most sacred spot in all Persia.

man; and all his family and relatives were sincere friends to me.

In that town also resided the learned Mawla, Cadzi *Nizâm Oddin Ali* of Khorasân, who having studied a length of time in Isphahan, had acquired a just taste and a sublime comprehension. With a number of other students, he prevailed on me by intreaty to employ myself in repetitions; and they began with me on the Osôl Kâfi, the Tefsir Beidâwi, the Sharh Ishârât, &c. From the richness of his ingenuity and intelligence, I was impressed with a great affection to these exercises; and I staid more than two years in that country, always passing my time in the most agreeable manner. The above-mentioned lords, and also the Cadzi, lived here in great magnificence, till within a few years ago, when I heard of their departure to the mercy of God.

CHAPTER XXII.

March of the Turks to the conquest of Irân.—Descent of the Turkish army on Kermân Shah.—Mention of some of the occurrences concerning the King, and of the disturbed state of the provinces of Irân.—Arrival of another commander of the Turks with an army in Azerbâïjân.—Engagements of the King with them.

One of the great events, which in these times surprised the world, and caused the confusion of Irân, and indeed of most of the kingdoms of the earth, was the march of the Turkish armies. The brief account of this affair is as follows. The Soltân of Constantinople, notwithstanding a treaty for one hundred years of peace, and the ratification of articles, that had been strengthened by the most solemn oaths and promises, and were a demonstration of his agreement and union with the Sovereigns of the exalted Safavean family, now taking the opportunity of the confusion which prevailed in their government and empire, to which they had as yet been unable to apply a remedy, and making himself the author of unfairness, inhumanity, and treachery, appointed for Irâk, Azerbâïjân, and Gorjistân, three or four powerful commanders,

with such armies as his utmost effort enabled him to raise; and commissioned [1] them to effect the conquest of those provinces. He of them who was destined for the conquest of Irâk, was Ahsan Pasha, Governor of Bagdad; and for that of Azerbâïjân, Abd Allah Pasha Vezir was named.

The aforesaid Ahsan Pasha entered the confines of Irâk with above one hundred thousand men, and

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[1] The expression in the text is كسيل نمود which being unusual is thus noted in the margin. كسيل بضم اوّل و ثاني بتحتاني مجهول كشيده و بلام زده بمعني نام زد كردن باشد و بمعني روانه كردن واقع نمودن هم هست و باينمعني حذف لام نيز كفته اند و بكاف فارسي هم آمده است برهان قاطع The word *Kosêl*, whereof the first syllable has damma, and the second its ye pronounced long in the Persian manner with the lam quiescent, means to *name* or *appoint*, and to *send forth*; it is also to *happen*, and in this meaning it has been used with an elision of the lam. It has likewise been pronounced with the Persian kâf (gâf). Borhân Câția., تحتاني is the name given to the *ye*, which has its two dots under it, as distinguished from the *te*, with its dots above and therefore called فوقاني. I find in Wilkins' edition of Richardson's Persian and Arabic Dictionary—A. تحتاني (Applied to letters) mean the small, short, or inferior. E. !—A. فوقاني Superior, supreme. Dotted as some letters; pointed. E. !

halted before the town of Kermân Shah,[1] where he died. His son Ahmed Pasha, who was a brave soldier, received the appointment to his father's place, and used his efforts to subdue that frontier. Shah Tahmâsb Safavi, whose youth was but in its commencement, and who, after ascending the throne, had been struck with horror and the utmost grief at the fatal events in Isphahan and the captivity and imprisonment of his father, was, by a foolish courtier, under the idea of freeing him from his sorrow and melancholy, led into the meshes of a luxurious and mirthful life; and in a little time, as play and laughter have a peculiar hold on the temper of young men, his bent that way passed every bound of temperance. A judicious and long-sighted poet has sung on this subject:[2]

O king! from heavy draughts of wine what result will ensue?
And from unceasing drunkenness what result will ensue?
With an intoxicated king, a world in confusion, and enemies before and behind—

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[1] The Persian text has the name of this town in the plural كرمان شاهان but I have given it, as most usual, in the singular. A great number of the names of places in Persia, and the name of the country itself, appear to be plural nouns; Irân, Isphahân, Teherân, &c. Other terminations, such as in Herât, Kelât, Cazvîn, Tabrîz, Shirâz, &c. may be conjectured to be plural in different dialects.

[2] شاها ز مي كران چه بر خواهد خواست
و از مستي بيكران چه بر خواهد خواست
شه مست و جهان خراب و دشمن پس و پيش

It is evident, from this means what result will ensue.

Amidst these circumstances was the said king in the province of Azerbâïjân; and he had formed a design to undertake the subdual of the Afghans. The arrival of the Turkish general intervening as an obstacle to this suitable intention, he employed himself in expelling the Turks from that frontier. The army of the Kizil Bâsh, or Red Head Persians, accompanying the stirrup, which is, following the command of this prince, who in courage and heroism was really a prodigy, had repeated and severe conflicts with the Turks, and at one time were victorious, at another time were defeated. But in spite of all their efforts, the Turks maintained their ground, being an innumerable multitude, who were regularly supplied with abundant provisions, were continually recruited by fresh arrivals, and had treasures which they disposed of for the furtherance of their object. Whatever discomfiture befell them, and howsoever frequently; whatever number of them was killed, and however often the slaughter was renewed; by the side of their immeasurable force the effect was altogether unperceivable. This distress had suddenly assailed and at once beaten down the greatest part of the Persian confines, at a time when the centre of government, and the treasures

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پیداست کزین میان چه بر خواهد خواست

of the empire, were in the hands of the Afghans; and when the evil-doers and exciters of tumult throughout the whole country, whom fear of punishment had hitherto held in subjection, came forth in this revolution and storm of strange events, from every hole and corner, to raise, as is their custom, their insolent heads to rebellion and transgression, and employ themselves in working a disturbance; when, too, the Persian army, and the men of business and direction, who possessed sense and prudence, were fallen into the abyss of confusion; and each person, in each place, inclining to the consideration of his own affairs, confined himself to the protection of his private wealth and family, and to the safeguard of his law and religion; so that mutual assistance and agreement with each other bordered on impossibility.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Melik Mahmôd Khan usurps the seat of sovereignty in Khorâsân.—The Emperor of the Russians conquers Gilan.—The Afghans settle themselves in Isphahan, and subdue the country around them.

At this time, also, the kingdom, or province of Khorâsân, notwithstanding its being remote from the two great disturbances which I have been describing, was thrown into confusion by the turbulence of some thirty thousand Abdâli Afghans, who laid claim to sovereign power in the seat of governm nt, Herât; and the revolt of Melik Mahmôd Khan, governor of Nimrôz, or Sistân, in Meshed Tôs; whereby the inhabitants of that province were beset with tumults, and strife and murder were made common.

In the provinces of Tabaristan and Gilan the plague had spread its ravages, and prolonging them to the space of ten years it caused an immense population to perish. At the same time the generals who were sent with a swarm of troops by the Emperor of the Russians, landing from the sea, made themselves masters of most of the considerable towns of Gilan. At this period no less than eighteen persons, possessing troops and retinue,

were reckoned up, who in the different provinces of Irân had raised their pretensions to royalty and principality. There were many besides who exercised robbery and plunder. The Safavean monarch, still undaunted, moved hand and foot amidst these horrible distresses, and against each of his powerful enemies sent such an army as his means enabled him, to cut off at least the opportunity of further transgression on the part of his adversaries. He himself was engaged in Azerbâïjân with the Turkish forces, who had conquered a great portion of that province.

During this occasion so favorable for them, the body of Afghans who had gained possession of the imperial residence, Isphahan, found it easy to subdue some of the districts around them in Irâk, and a part of the province of Fârs; and thus gave a considerable extension to their empire. A troop of ruined Persians, partly of their own accord, partly by force, united themselves to these Afghans, who were a rude people and accustomed only to uncivilized life in the country, and having instructed them in the rules of government and of worldly possession, and in the ways and customs of life and propriety, they led them to the method of administration and investiture peculiar to the habits of the Kizil Bâsh. But from their meanness and inferiority every little thing shewed in the sight of the Afghans to be vast and valuable; and in consequence of their narrow circumstances and

of at the same time the smallness of their numbers, if any assemblage, even inconsiderable, took place in any city, they yielded to their fears, and suddenly began a general slaughter. This happened several times in Isphahan; where, out of covetousness, they left nothing in the possession of the inhabitants; and acquired to themselves such a quantity of wealth, and treasures, and costly rarities, that thought and calculation must fall short of their value. The people had no kind of rest from the tyranny of these wretches; and the peasantry, driven to despair, more than once girt their loins to massacre them.

In the court of power, Cazvin, which the Afghans had gained to their possession, the populace having united one day with the market-people, put the Afghans to the edge of the sword, and killed about four thousand of them; bringing the city by this means under their own government. When, shortly afterwards, another body of Afghan troops approached their walls, they surrendered the town, but on a certain compact and agreement.

In like manner, at Khonsâr, a place of inferior note, the populace revolted, and surrounding in the midst of the town a body of Afghans with their governor and commander who had arrived there on their march to another station, they killed in one day three thousand of them.

One of the wonders to be recorded is this, that

some contemptible villages, which had been put to every shift to store themselves with provisions, guarded and maintained against the Afghans for the whole time of their seven years' dominion, the weak fortifications they were surrounded with; and nothing of theirs came within the reach of the Afghans, but the whistling of their musket-balls; so that however much these invaders exerted themselves to subdue them during that long period, their labour was in vain.

The Afghans indeed were constantly riding about; and though in possession of victory and superiority, they obtained no rest; sometimes in consequence of their fears and alarms, at other times from the actual attacks of the peasantry and the Persian army. But however often the troops of the Kizil Bâsh attacked them, by the decree of fate their business was nothing furthered.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Murder of the royal princes.—Mahmôd becomes mad, and dies.—Ashraf, the Afghan, seats himself on the throne of Isphahan.—Battle of Ahmed Pasha with the Afghans, and defeat of the Turks.—Soltân Hosein is put to death.

AFTER two years' possession of the sovereign power, which accident had placed in his hands, the worthless Mahmôd gave orders for the death of the Safavean princes, who were his prisoners; and nine-and-thirty innocent seyyids, some grown up, others in their childhood, were barbarously slaughtered. It is wonderful, that on the same night, a change passed over him, and he became deranged. He began to gnaw his own hands, and ate his own excrements.[1] Every person that approached him, he overwhelmed with abuse; and in this condition died. A person named Ashraf, of their nation, seated himself in his place; and was qualified with bravery and prudence. By persuasion and coercion he gained to himself adherents from among the people of

[1] Sir J. Malcolm says in a note, vol. ii. p. 18. "Shaikh Mahomed Aly Hàzeen states, that he went mad, and not only tore off his own flesh, but ate it!"

Irâk and Fârs; and having equipped a numerous army, and assembled his forces, he subdued the greater part of the last mentioned province; so that his affairs assumed a very great splendour. The Turkish general, Ahmed Pasha, having marched against him with an immense army, they gave battle in the neighbourhood of a small town called Anjadân. At first the Afghans were broken by the fire of the Turkish artillery, and were forced to abandon their position. When evening came on, Ashraf again drew up his forces, and, after the manner of the Kizil Bâsh, having raised on all sides a noise like thunder by the sound of trumpets and the beat of drums, he rushed upon the Turks, who, with their commander Ahmed Pasha, were routed and put to flight. At length a peace was concluded between them.

Soon afterwards, Ashraf put to death the Shah Soltân Hosein, and sent his corpse to be interred at the court of the faithful, Com. Ashraf remained firm on the throne until he was finally routed and destroyed by Shah Tahmâsb, as will be hereafter described.

CHAPTER XXV.

Commemoration of some of the contemporary learned men and grandees, who were on social terms with the Author.

I MUST now commemorate the number of grandees who were on a friendly footing with me, who died either shortly before the siege of Isphahan, or during that calamity. One of them was the learned Mawla, Mirza *Abd Allah*, commonly called Efendi.[1] He was skilled in the usual sciences, and was very much followed. Having built a college near his own mansion in Isphahan, he employed himself in teaching, and had his fortune made.[1] He had been in Constantinople,

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[1] روزكاري مهيا داشت The example of this illustrious Persian is well worth the imitation of our countrymen. Many of them who are skilled in every science, and, like the Mirza, have had all the advantage of foreign travel, take recourse, for the exercise of their active faculties, to the vulgar employments of gardening, turning, &c. which the lowest education enables a man to pursue. The noblest and fittest exercise for such persons is the action of the orator. In the senate, among some hundreds assembled, but one at a time has the opportunity of exerting his powers of speech; and supposing each member to

and the learned men of that place had become acquainted with his gift of knowledge. According to their usage, they bestowed on him the title of Efendi, by which he was ever after known. In regard to me his kindness was complete. He departed from life a short time before the disturbance in Isphahan.

Another was the excellent Seyyid, Mir *Mohammed Sâlih*, Sheikh Al Islâm, a native of the capital. His knowledge comprehended the whole circle of legal sciences, and he passed through life honoured and respected. His decease took place before the revolution. Some of his children, also, were

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take his turn, it would hardly be repeated during the session. In the law courts there is too much difficult business, and nearly the same rarity of occasion. For the church a particular vocation is required. But numbers of our ablest men of rank might exercise themselves at pleasure in lecturing on the various branches of the Literæ Humaniores, and thus render to the operatives the service of raising this department of science to more respectability than in our country it has yet attained. Of the ordinary lecturers on such subjects, viz. the Grammar and Rhetoric of our own and foreign languages, &c. I have never yet found one that displayed first-rate ability, such as is not rarely met with among our statesmen and diplomatists.

The only gentleman of rank who at present turns his polished mind to the noble pursuit of conducting lectures on literary subjects, is John Penn, of Stoke Park, Esq. the accomplished and amiable Governor of Portland Castle, whose house in Spring Gardens is open every week during the season to the resort of his numerous and respectable auditory.

adorned with the jewels of knowledge and virtue, and were united in friendship with me. They died about the time of writing this.

Another was the learned Seyyid, Mir *Mohammed Bâkir*, son and successor of Mir Ismail Hoseini Isphahani. He was one of the most famous doctors, and in the reign of the late Soltân held high rank and dignity. The management of the classes in the royal college was committed to his charge, and he employed himself in teaching. His death happened a little before the distressing occurrence at Isphahan.

Another, a pillar of Mojtahids, was Mawlana *Beha Eddin Mohammed*, a native of Isphahan. He had long been devoted to the employment of communicating the precepts of law and religion, and of exhorting to the performance of religious and moral duties. In points and disputes of law he was the resort of his contemporaries; and in conduct and manner was most praise-worthy. On my poor self he was pleased to bestow much kindness and attention. Having been when a child with his father in India, he was known by the title of the Learned Indian. He passed hence a little while before the revolution at Isphahan.

Another, a noble Seyyid, was Mirza *Dâoud*, son and successor of the late Mirza Abd Allah. He was of the great lords of power, and on the side of his grandmother was related to the high Safavean family. He was particularly distinguished

by affinity with the late Soltân, and had the honour conferred on him of being made governor of Meshed, the holy cemetery of Rizâ. He was characterised for benignity of disposition, and was rendered famous by his poetical effusions. Adorned with the ornaments of apparent and ideal perfections, he held his course of life in honour and magnificence; until, at the approach of the calamity so often mentioned, he departed to the world of perpetuity.

Another was Mirza *Seyyid Riza Hasani*, who was of the Hasanian lords of Isphahan; a family, which, since the remotest antiquity, has been among the greatest and most exalted of that city; the major part of the most eminent men in the world, and the most frequent occupation of the dignity of Sadr having belonged to that house. In regard to them and the Sâïdian family it has been said:

Lines.[1]

Mir, or Lord, of the Mirânies and Sâidies;
King of India, and king to note.

This Seyyid was remarkable among his confem-

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[1] میر میرانیان و صاعدیان
پادشاهٔ هند و پادشاه نشان

This appears to be a vulgar ditty, alike destitute of prosody, and poor in sense.

poraries for florid openness of temper and disposition. He held his course of life in honour and respectability; and towards me his friendship and affection were boundless. His death happened near the revolution.

Another, eminent for his writings, was Mirza *Kemâl Eddin Hosein of Fasa*, who was one of my instructors. During the time of the siege, and at an advanced age, he repaired to the divine mercy.

Another, a wise philosopher, a collector of excellences and a resort of learned men, was Mawlâna *Hamzehi of Gilan*, who was one of the greatest scholars of the great philosopher Mawlâna Mohammed Sâdic of Ardistân, on whom be mercy! and was also one of my sincerest friends. His decease happened during the latter days of the siege.

Another was Mawlâna *Mohammed Riza*, son and successor of the late Mawlâna Mohammed Bakir Majlisi. Apparelled with the ornaments of science and laudable morality he employed himself in giving lectures, and was characterised for elevation and dignity of thought. He died during the calamity, together with his two noble brothers, and a multitude of children and near relations, who were all numbered among my associates and firm friends.

Another was the virtuous Mawla, Mawlâna *Mohammed Taki of Tabas*, one of the most famous scholars of his time, and in the various sciences enduced with vast ability. He had chosen his

abode at Isphahan, and there employed himself in the business of instruction. It was during the disturbance that he was united to the mercy of God.

Another was the great and illustrious Mirzâdeh *Mostafa Coli Khan*, son and successor of the Amir Ol Omara Saro Khan; whose laudable qualities, praise-worthy morals, and superior capacity it is impossible for me to describe. His condescension and friendship towards me knew no bounds. Having arrived at the dignity of his father, he was honoured with the degree of martyrdom at the the hands of the Afghans.

As I have now given a short account of these matters, I will return to my former discourse, and detail the remainder of my adventures.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Remainder of the Author's adventures during his residence at Khorram Abâd.—The Turks besiege the Court of Sovereignty, Hamadân.—Their conquest of it, and massacre of its inhabitants.

I WAS at Khorram Abâd, when the fire of the Turkish revolution flamed over those confines, and when the invasions of the Turkish troops began to reach the environs of that town. Ali Mardân Khan, the Amîr Ol Omarâ before-mentioned, came to the opinion, that as a war with the Turks at that time was a matter of great difficulty, the most salutary measure would be to retire with the whole population to a part of the province, which was a mountain of difficult access, and to abandon the town and territory of Khorram Abâd, which was in the vicinity of the Turkish camp, to emptiness and desolation. With this intent he moved with his army and dependents to the remotest district of the province, leaving Amir Hasan Beg Saliverzi, one of the princes of that tribe, in the city, to remove the people, and, having laid waste the town and citadel, to join him.

The inhabitants, however, fell into confusion; and most of them being unable to move away, and having at the same time no security against their terror of the Turks, they raised a commotion like the rising from the dead. Amir Hasan Beg came to my lodgings, and the citizens also came in a body. Much discourse of various kinds passed between us, and I saw that the removal of the people was utterly out of their power. To lay waste such a city, which was the envy of the rose-bower of Irem, and, working the still greater ruin by their own hands of such an immense population, to turn adrift their old women, their children, and their families into the desert of destruction, was a measure which I did not approve of; and I advised the Amir not to stir, but to adopt some plan for the defence of himself and people. I exhorted the citizens to union, and to the active preparation of ammunition and arms: and I shewed them the necessity of being vigilant and courageous. My speech produced its effect and gained the approbation of all. The citizens entered into a treaty and covenant with each other, and every one equipped himself in armour and the accoutrements of war. Their exertions to this end being completed, they closed up, as well as they could, all the ways and passages to the entrance of the enemy, and took all the necessary steps for strengthening the fortifications and ramparts of the town and citadel. So powerfully did I employ

my encouragement and multiply my exhortations on them, that the most ignorant of their number, within a few days, arrived at perfect skill in the use of arms; and to such a height was their bravery wound up, that if a formidable army had presented itself against them, they would not have hesitated to give it battle. The inhabitants now regained their tranquillity, and the town resumed its busy populousness. Most nights I kept watch with the citizens myself, and in the day accompanied them in their rides. When the Turkish army was made aware of the proficiency in arms and state of preparation of the town's people; and when the name and multitude of the branches of the Feili tribe, the roughness and difficulty of the roads and passages through the province, and the circumstance of there being in the midst of them a governor like the renowned Amîr Ol Omarâ, had been spoken of loudly by the voice of report, the Turks became thoughtful, and no longer setting their faces in that direction, they confined their operations to the remaining districts around them. As soon as the aforesaid Amîr Ol Omarâ perceived, that the people of the town remained stationary at their homes, he repeatedly sent to caution and deter them; but no one paid attention to his messages. After six months' endurance of much hardship and affliction in the mountains, he came down himself also to

the city, and approved of the advice which had been followed.

The Turks in the mean time were busied in the siege of Hamadân, one of the largest cities of Irâk, and the capital of one of its most considerable districts. At that time there was neither governor, nor any body of troops in the town. But the citizens and common people stood up in its defence, and the siege was prolonged to four months' duration. A multitude of Turks was killed by the arrows and musket-shots of the besieged; and however much the Turkish General, Ahmed Pâshâ, summoned them to submit, it was of no avail. The Turks, who exceeded one hundred thousand in number, and were renowned throughout the world for capturing forts, began at length to exert themselves in the reduction of the town, and having blown up with gunpowder one side of the ramparts they entered through the breach. As the Turks turned their hands to slaughter, the people of the town also, taking up arms, as many as they had, made face against the enemy on every side; but they had no longer any hold on their own safety, nor was any advantage to be gained by their useless strife: they were all killed in the murderous conflict. Of the most famous and extraordinary occurrences of the time, one was the abundant slaughter made by the Turks in that city, and the resistance and obstinate bravery

of its inhabitants. For three days was the bloody scene enacted; and not one of the Persian combatants turned his face to flight, but they were all killed; except a very small number of persons who obtained quarter, and retired to the neighbouring districts. At that time a considerable multitude from the districts and confines of Irâk had been also assembled in the town. The number of the slain on this mournful occasion is known only to the great master of secrets; for to guess even the number of noble lords, and eminent men, and grandees, who at that time lost their lives, would be difficult; how much more so that of the common people? One of the slain was the ingeniously clever and incomparably learned man Mirza *Hâshim* of Hamadân, who ranked among the scientific scholars of the age, and was a true friend to me. Was numbered also in the list of the slain the learned and godly Mawla *Abd Arrashîd* of Hamadân, who was a just and equitable man, and possessed a high degree of legal knowledge. Among the killed was also that prodigy of the universe Mawlâna *Ali Khattât* of Isphahan, whom I have had occasion to mention heretofore.[1] He was connected with most of the sciences, and wrote every species of hand-writing in such a manner, as none of the

[1] See p. 67. where he is styled Kosâri, that is a native of the district called Kosâr in Isphahan.

preceding writers up to his time had been able to execute. He was a collector of all perfections, and from the beginning of the revolution had been one of my friends and intimate companions. To conclude, with the report of this terrible calamity of Hamadân confusion spread itself over the affairs of those confines, or rather found its way over the whole of Persia; and the people of Khorram Abâd were scattered and dispersed, the governor himself also fleeing from that town.

CHAPTER XXVII.

The Author sets out on a journey to Hamadân.—Returns from Hamadân to Nahâvend.—Travels through the province of Bakhtiâri.—Arrives at Khorram Abâd—Dezfôl—Shôshter—Hoveizah—Basrah.—Embarks on a sea-voyage, bound to Mecca the Revered.—Arrives at Bender Môkha.—Travels to Taîz and Sanaâ.—Returns from Yemen to Bender Môkha, and thence to Basrah—Hoveizah, and Shôshter.

As a great number of my acquaintances and friends had perished in the storm of Hamadân, and their families were marched in the crowd of prisoners, I formed the design of going to that country to enquire into their condition and to use my endeavours towards the release of the captives, as far as my utmost ability would carry me. I set out, therefore, in the direction of Hamadân, and with my own people and a company of persons who joined me on the road we were in all seventy horsemen. The highways and by-passages were so full of disturbance and confusion that it was difficult to pass along. In one or two of the stages, we fell in with the Turkish troops, and were surrounded by them. After suffering hard trials and severe vexations we got away in

safety, by the favour of the Almighty, and arrived at Hamadan. A number of the well known inhabitants of Kermanshah and other towns, who accompanied the Pasha and the Turkish army against their wills, and had a former acquaintance with me, united in the undertaking; and we made great exertions for the release of some of the prisoners; until by the employment of every sort of persuasion a body of them were set at liberty, and arrived in a place of security. Whilst on this business God knows what trouble, care, and affliction passed over me. In some of the main streets of the city it was impossible to pass for the bodies of the slain, which had fallen one upon the other; and in most places it appeared to view, in what manner during the onset the Hamadanians, having closed up the entrances of the streets, repelled the assaults of the Turks; and, whatever number of them was killed, still others stood up in their places to be slaughtered, until the bodies of the slain, heaped on one another, reached to the top of the highest walls.

Though I had many friends among the Turks and was greatly respected by them, still it was very distressing to me to be in their camp; and retiring therefore from amongst them I arrived with a vast deal of difficulty at *Nahâvend*, which town up to that period had not been reduced to their possession: here I found the excellent Mawla, the late Cadzi *Ibrahim*, a native of the place, who

at that time had undertaken the administration of the law in that town, and was in truth one of the best of men and a collector of perfections. This is a delightful spot, and I made here a stay of some days, during which I enjoyed the society of the said Mawla.

Thence I proceeded to the collected villages of the Bakhtiâri Tribe, known by the name of Lor Bozorg, where at that time the noble *Mohammed Hosein Khân* was governor. I travelled over a great part of that province, and the Amirs and Ayans of that tribe were perfectly kind to me: but to stay in those borders proved disagreeable, and being sick and weary I conceived an inclination to pass into the Arabian Irâk, and taking up my abode amidst the holy mesheds to spend there the remainder of my life. I went therefore back to Khorram Abâd, which city I found entirely empty in consequence of apprehensions of attacks from the Turkish army. Turning my steps towards Shôshter and the districts of Khozistân, I arrived at the small town of Dezfôl, which is one of the dependencies of Shôshter. The governor of that country, Abo El Fatah Khân, one of the slave-born sons of the Safavean family, and a sensible youth, was residing in the place, and took a great liking to my society. Of the grandees of that place were, the excellent Seyyid Mir *Abd El Bâki*, and the store of perfections *Cadzi Majd Eddin Dezfôli*, one of my ancient friends.

Thence I went to Shôshter, where a great number of the lords and grandees belonging to the town took me into their intimacy; and here I staid some time. Among my friends were the excellent Seyyid, Seyyid *Nor Eddin*, son of Seyyid Neamet Allah Jezâïri, since deceased, who overflowed in kindness towards me; as also were Mirza *Mohammed Taki* and Mirza *Abd El Bâki* of Maragha.[1] Then I went to the city of Hoveizah. Seyyid *Mohammed Khân*, son of Farj Allah Khân Moshasha, was governor of that province, and offered me the dues of friendship. One of the distinguished men of that town was Sheikh *Yacób*, a native of the place, who in the humanities, and tradition, law, and significations, and in genealogical history and biography had great ability, and possessed a powerful memory. Afterwards I went to Basrah, and intended to go on to Bagdad, when, a vessel being about to sail for Yemen, and a number of persons having embarked for the purpose of performing their pilgrimage to Mecca, I also was seized with a return of my former wish, and hav-

[1] The word in the text is مرغني which I believe to be an error of the copyist for مرغاي Maraghâ is the second town of Azerbâïjân. It is well built and beautifully situated on a fine plain, which is watered by a small clear stream, rising in the mountains of Sakend, and flowing past the walls of the city into the neighbouring lake of Ormia.

ing furnished myself with provisions I went on board the ship. In consequence of a storm which we weathered, and the usual distress from which a sea-voyage can scarcely ever be exempt, I fell sick and helpless, weak and full of pain. After forty days I arrived on the coast of Yemen, at the port of Môkha, and having landed from the ship, I lay down on the bed of sickness, in that town; but as the air of the place disagreed with me, by the advice of some of the citizens I removed to the populous city of Taïz,[1] which is celebrated throughout Yemen for amenity of air and pleasantness of situation. There my health was restored; but in the mean time the proper season of the pilgrimage had elapsed. By a favourable occasion I went to Sanaâ, which is the centre of government and the residence of the Sovereign of Yemen. Of the class of generous Seniors, Sheikh *Hasan Ben Saïd Olesi Yemeni Imâmi*, on whom be mercy! was residing in that town, and was pleased to shew a particular affection and kindness towards me. Having

[1] This word is written in the text of my manuscript تعض in the margin تعيض. It is the same city which Professor Lee calls Tiazz. He remarks that Abulfeda pronounces it Tiaz, and that Reiske writes it Teez. It is a fortress situated on the mountains overhanging the coasts and country of Zabid. Higher up is a pleasure ground to which one of the sovereigns of Yemen had conducted water from the eminences above it, &c. See The Travels of Ibn Batuta, p. 54.

gone back to Môkha, I returned with some ships that were bound to Basra; so that this year also I was forbidden the happiness of visiting the holy temple. At that time the journey from Basra to Bagdad, by means of the military garrisons on the roads, was impracticable; and as Basra is situated on the sea-shore, and its atmosphere is disagreeable, I found it unpleasant to remain there, and had no choice but to return to Hoveizah and Shôshter. Here I was a prey to perplexity, amid the disturbance of the world and the giddiness of my own mind; and in no corner could I find any rest, as appears from the sense of my following quatrain;[1]

I am he, who in the kingdom of nothingness am a Soltân;
Though provisionless, I am still furnished with provision.
In these ruined possessions I resemble a mill-stone;
My head goes round, puzzled for why it goes round.

The inhabitants of most of the places which I

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[1] آنم که بملك نیستي سلطانم
با سامانم اگرچه بي سامانم
مانندهٔ آسیا درین ملك خراب
سر گردانم که از چه سر گردانم

The word سامان which I have rendered by *provision*, is a very comprehensive term, as may be seen by reference to the Borhân Câtia, and among twenty other meanings signifies *apparatus, opulence, power, company*.

visited, wishing through their friendship for me that I should stay with them, proposed marriage to me: but having regard to my own circumstances and the exigences of the times, so full of disturbance and so excessively changeable, I found it in no wise desirable; and to remain among them, for various reasons, appeared to me odious and disagreeable.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Mention of the Sabians.—The Author goes from Shôshter into Loristân.—Arrival of the Pasha in Loristân, and his subdual of that country.—Departure of the Author with the Turkish army from Loristân to Kermanshah.—Prevalence of the Turks over the confines of Irâk, and the strife of the peasantry with them.—Battles of Sobhân Verdi Khân with the Turks.

In Hoveizah, and Shôshter, and Dezfôl is a congregation of Sabians; and at the present day, except in these three towns, there is no sign or appearance of them in any other place throughout the whole universe. As far as my most diligent enquiries went, there was not a learned man remaining among them; and they were generally mean and low-lived people. The Sabian religion is the sect of Sâb, son of Enoch on whom be peace! Sâb, according to the relation of some biographers, was a prophet:[1] but a portion of them have

[1] There appears to be some error in the text و صابیه ملّت صاب باشد ادریس علیه السلام و صاب بروایت

reckoned him among the philosophers. The Sabians say, the first of prophets was Adam, and the last Sâb. They have a book consisting of one hundred and twenty chapters, which they call The First Zebôr, or Scripture. Their faith is, that the Creator of the world made the stars and heavens, and left the government of the world to them. It is to the stars that they address their prayers; and for every star they have a determined shape according to which they make its figure and say, this is the image of such and such a star. For

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بعض اصحاب سير پيغمبر بوده و طايفه وي را از حكما شمرده اند. I have supplied the word ابن before ادريس in translating, and wish I may have hit upon the right correction. Another way to amend the passage would be by supplying يك before پيغمبر and translating: "The Sabian religion is the sect of Sâb (or Sàbiah is the sect of Sâb). Enoch, on whom be peace! and Sâb, according to the relation of some biographers, were one and the same prophet; but a portion of them have reckoned him (Sâb) among the philosophers." In D'Herbelot I find Sâb (by him written Sabi) variously mentioned as the son, and grand-son of Edris, or Enoch: and again D'Herbelot introduces Ebn Schunah as relating, that the Sabians are the descendants of the most ancient nation in the world; that they still speak, or at least read in their books, the language spoken by Adam and his children; and that they hold their religion and their laws from Scheith and Edris, (the patriarchs Seth and Enoch) whose books they have constantly possessed.

their humble submissions and supplications to each they have set forms of worship and ceremonies. The most intelligent among them say, We do not pay our worship and say our prayers to the stars: they are only our kiblah, or object at which we look. All this tribe believes in the influences of the bodies above and their images below, that is their likenesses and idols. In former times there were wise and learned men of high degree in this order, who were masters of occult sciences.

From Shôshter I again entered the province of Loristan Feili, and arrived in ill health at Khorram Abâd. So ill was I, that when the approach of Ahmed Pasha, the commander of the Turkish army, to that city was publicly known, and the small number of inhabitants there, taking to flight, retired to the difficult passes of the mountains, I alone with a few servants remained in the city, until the General with an innumerable army of Turks being come up pitched his camp without the walls: whereupon not thinking it advisable to remain alone in the city, I went into the midst of the Turkish troops and stationed myself there. After a little time the General got some of the inhabitants into his hands and gave them promise of favour and good treatment. A small body of them in consequence came together, and the General, having appointed one of the Turks as governor of the place, retired on his march back.

I kept company with this same body of troops, and arrived with them at Kerman Shah. On the route I suffered great distress from the weak and painful state of my health, and from the severity of the cold. The General conceived great affection for me, and treated me with the utmost respect: and a number of the Turks became my friends and associates. With them was *Abd Allah Efendi*, a Cadzi Asker of Constantinople, who enjoyed the highest celebrity in the Turkish empire for wisdom and learning. He became friendly with me and sought and gained my intimacy. Most of the discourses on science passed between us; and withdrawing my view from his dignity of chief, from his high station, and from the reverence in which he was held, I found him to the last degree mean and worthless, and a stranger to knowledge. His whole stock of erudition was limited to the retaining by heart some ordinary questions of the Hanifean system of Law: nothing more. Such I have found all that I have seen of the men celebrated for learning among that people. True indeed, one among them was *Abd Allatif Chelebi* of Bagdad. He in polite learning and in Arabic poetry was truly a master.

I passed some time in Kerman Shah, and there wrote a Treatise called Mofarrih Alcolôb on Medical Experiments and Corollaries, and a Treatise called Tajarrod Nafas. In that town was the excellent Seyyid Amir *Sadr Eddin Mohammed Comi*

of Isphahan, who was the lecturer in the city of Hamadân, and having escaped from the mishap there had come to Kerman Shah. He was indeed one of the most profound scholars, and towards me displayed a perfect friendship. He is still living, and is now become an inhabitant of Najaf Ashraf.

At that time the Turks had made the conquest of the whole of Calamraw Ali Shakar, with its dependencies; of Kordistan, and Loristan, and the surrounding countries; and had brought them all into their possession by strife and slaughter. But the peasantry were insubordinate, and refused to mingle with the Turks; and thorough confusion had spread itself over those provinces. Having taking possession of the small town of Berojird, the Turks had stationed a governor to rule over it. One day the rabble and people of the market raised a general tumult, and making an assault upon the Turks killed four thousand of them. Afterwards, paying a fine of five thousand tomans to the Commander, Ahmed Pasha, they submitted to obedience.

A Kizil Bâsh Amir, Sobhân Verdi Khan, son of Abo El Câsim Khan, formerly governor of Hamadân, who at that period had neither office nor army, having brought together a various set of men, for a length of time hovered over the Turks in those parts, and had more than three hundred engagements with them. Each time he killed a multitude of their soldiers; and whenever the

General went to face him with an immense army, he would make a sudden retreat. Indeed, during the whole of that period, destitute as he was of force and power, he continually performed feats of courage and manhood, and kept that innumerable army in perpetual disquietude. At last, satiated with the multitude of his repeated conflicts, and fatigued with the hardships of constant activity, he wearied and grew cool; and the Turks, having engaged him to join them by promises and conventions, at first treated him with great respect; afterwards, they put him to death. I heard it said by Ibrahim Aga, Defterdâr, or Intendent of the Finances, of Bagdad, who was one of the chief officers of that army, that Sobhân Verdi Khan, in his combats with the Turks, had slain two and twenty thousand of their men. In truth, were it possible in this haste distinctly to describe his affairs and manœuvres, his bravery and resolution, his boldness and intrepidity, the detail would fully excite the astonishment of every reader, and cancel in the book of fortune the Story of Rostam and Esfendiâr.

In sum, the province of Irâk was so withered and depopulated amidst this hurricane of calamities, as it exceeds my power to express.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Capture of Tabriz and conflict of the Turks and Tabrizians.—The Author goes to Toi and Sirkân.—Starts for Bagdad, and afterwards has the honour of visiting the illuminated Mesheds of Irâk.—Returns to Bagdad.—Resolves on a journey to Khorasân, and arrives at Kerman Shah.—Travels into Kordistân, and Azerbâïjân.—Arrives in Gilân; afterwards in the terrestrial paradise, Mâzenderân.

Abd Allah Pasha, likewise, had conquered the greatest part of the province of Azerbâïjân, and the court of sovereignty, Tabriz, had been in the same condition as Hamadân. The Tabrizians also, after they had been reduced to weakness by making and sustaining continual assaults and the Turks had poured their forces into their town, finally drawing their swords for combat hand to hand, during five whole days maintained the fight in the streets and market-places; until the Turks, distressed by this obstinate warfare, made a proclamation, that ceasing the fight they might retire from the city with their children, and families, and whatever part of their property they could carry with them. About five thousand persons, who

were all that survived of an innumerable population, with their swords in one hand, and the trembling hands of their consorts grasped in the other, marched out from the town through the midst of the Turkish army. Such undaunted bravery has seldom been witnessed in the ordinary inhabitants of any city, since time has been.[1]

I staid some days in Kerman Shah, and some few in the small town of Toi, and Sirkân, and in the places at the foot of the mountain Elwend, which are the paradises of the earthly surface; and there was the Seyyid of illustrious worth, Amir *Sadr Eddin Mohammed* of Sirkân, with his brother Mir Ibrahim, who were both men of proficiency, and were on terms of perfect friendship with me. Their origin was from the lords of Asterâbâd: They had long been inhabitants of

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[1] According to the Turkish historians, the number of those who left the town was twenty thousand: but they have probably chosen to include in their account the women and children also. Our author evidently speaks of the men only. This passage is thus rendered by Sir J. Malcolm: "and these brave men," to use the words of a contemporary author (Shaikh Mahomed Aly Hâzeen), "taking those of their families who remained in one hand, and their swords in the other, retreated with a sullen pride, through the ranks of an admiring enemy. Persian History," observes the same writer, "affords no instance of superior valour to that displayed by the citizens of Tabreez on this memorable occasion." Persian History, vol. ii. p. 23.

these countries, and were in possession of feudal lands and leases.

Afterwards I went to the court of peace, Bagdad, and passing through the exalted Kerbela, I chose Najaf Ashraf for my habitation. For near three years I led a happy life at that holy threshold, and my time passed in quiet and regularity. I had always had a desire to execute a copy of the Coran in my own handwriting; and during those days I was favoured with the divine blessing, and wrote one, which I left in that exalted flower-garden. Sometimes I investigated objects of science, and wrote treatises on them; at other times I employed myself in reading. In the library attached to the Saint's tomb there was such a quantity collected of all kinds of books, both ancient and modern, that I cannot enumerate them. Many of them I perused. Sometimes I frequented the society of the learned and pious men, who resided in the neighbourhood of the holy vestibule. Among them were the excellent Mawla, Molla *Abo El Hasan* of Isphahan, and Mawla *Nor Ed Dahr* of Gilan; Sheikh *Yonas*, and Seyyid *Háshim* of Najaf, since dead, who was one of the most celebrated Saints of his time. In every respect my existence was most agreeable from the overflowing blessings of this sacred spot; and I had no thoughts of any journey, or of going to any distance away from this holy threshold. At length, to renew my vow of pilgrimage to the

illuminated Mesheds of Kazmein and Sorreman Râi, I went to Bagdad, and obtained the desired happiness. My intention was to return to Najaf Ashraf, when the thought of a journey to Khorasân and of visiting the Meshed of Tôs came into my mind; and fate drawing me onwards by little and little brought me to Kerman Shah, where Ahmed Pasha was with an immense army of Turks. At that time, by reason of the tumultuous and revolutionary state of the country, the want of all safety on the roads, and the prevalence of rebels, it was extremely difficult and dangerous to travel in Persia. However, placing my reliance on the protection of the Almighty, I entered the province of Kordistân; and thence arriving in Azerbâïjân I beheld those once populous countries, particularly the city of Tabriz, ruined and desolated by the Turkish invasion.

Lines.[1]

As I passed by a heap of ruins, my own house occurred to my mind;
I saw a man who had lost a hand and a foot, and I thought of my own heart.

Then I went to the Court of safe direction, Ardebil, which city also was in possession of the Turks, and thence I entered Gilan. A large body of the

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[1] از خرابي ميگذشتم منزلم آمد بياد
دست و پا كم كرده ديدم دلم آمد بياد

Russian army was stationed in the town of Astârah,[1] and had built there a fort. Yahya Khân of the Tâlish tribe having made an agreement with that nation was governor of the town on their part; and as our family from ancient times had been strictly connected with his race, he offered me the observances of ancient friendship, and by his entreaties engaged me to remain some days. In consequence of the calamitous plague, which was still prevalent in that province, and of the invasion of the Russian army, it appeared to me marvellously waste and destitute; and not one survived of all my former friends, nor any of the noble and illustrious inhabitants. Some also of my fellow travellers died of that disease. Having travelled the whole length of that province with the utmost difficulty, I arrived in the heavenly country of Mâzenderân.

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[1] On this town my Persian Manuscript has a note from the Borhân Càtia استاره نام بلوكي است از مضافات لاهجان "Astârah is the name of a hamlet dependent on Lahijân."

CHAPTER XXX.

Conclusion of the history of the Shah.—Fight between the Shah's army and Ashraf the Afghân; and defeat of the former.—Departure of the Shah for Mâzenderân; thence for Khorâsân, and his reduction of that province.—Melik Mahmôd Khan goes to meet the Shah's troop, with the intent to offer battle.—Melik Mahmôd is besieged.—Capture of the holy Meshed.—Departure of the Author from Mâzenderân to Asterâbâd.—His arrival at Meshed.—Nadr Coli Beg comes to the Royal Camp; he arrives at power, and obtains the title of Tahmâsb Coli Khân.

Now, in order to connect my discourse, I proceed to give a summary account of what passed with the illustrious monarch, Shah Tahmâsb, who for some years had maintained such a strife with the Turkish army in Azerbâïjân, that the Kizil Bâsh were become weary of combats and skirmishes; and most of his army having perished in the fight, and the Turks having spread their conquests over that province, and the provinces of Shirvân and Gorjistân, the field of his operations became narrow limited. In his helplessness he withdrew his hand from those confines, and in-

dulging the idea, that perchance he might rescue the province of Irâk, out of the grasp of the Afghâns, he entered Tehrân and Rei, with the forces he still possessed. Ashraf the Afghân, having obtained full power and authority on his side, was prepared for the fight, and giving battle to the King's army in the environs of Tehrân, he came off victorious. The Commander of the troops of the Kizil Bâsh, who was of the number of my friends, was taken prisoner in the action, but afterwards found means to escape. The King, having no longer any ability for a hostile engagement, retired to Mâzenderân to meditate on future measures; and the Afghâns became sovereigns of the territory as far as the confines of Khorâsân. As the plague was prevalent in Mâzenderân, a multitude of the King's troops died of that disorder, and scarcely a soldier remained for his service. In a fit of grief he drew the cypher of dismissal on the forehead of his Omarâs and courtiers, and expelling them all from his royal attendance, he formed the design of marching into Khorâsân with some chosen followers, and reconquering that country from the hands which had subdued it; and having joined to his stirrup a troop of warriors from the assembly of Câjârs at Asterâbâd, he entered that province. Khorâsân at that time was divided into three portions. Candahâr and its dependencies were in possession of the Kilizchi Afghâns; and the rest of Khorâsân was subject to Melik Mahmôd

Khân, governor of Nîmrôz, or Sistân, who had become lord of the coin and prone, and held his residence in Meshed Tôs. He had drawn together a numerous and warlike army, and was himself a valiant man. His lineage was connected with the Safavean Soltans; and it was expected that paying regard to the obligations of so many years' service held under that illustrious house, and to the gratitude which he owed it for his maintenance and support, he would come forward with the step of excusation. But this grace of guidance was not granted him from God; and going out to meet the Shah's troop with intent of battle, he advanced as far as the fort of Asfarâyin. As soon as the King heard of his bold intrepidity he delayed not a moment to mount his horse, in the determination to meet and punish the Khân, and immediately headed the advanced guard against him. But Melik Mahmôd Khân, repenting of his audacity, returned in all haste to the holy Meshed, and began to labour at fortifying the castle and the ramparts; and the King having encamped before the gate of the city, applied himself to the siege. Every day Melik Mahmôd Khân, sallying forth from the intrenchments with a park of artillery and all the means and implements of war, would engage a conflict with the royal army; and persevered in this practice for several months. In the mean time the inhabitants of the other towns, and the peasantry of Khorâsân, grateful for the cherish-

ment of the Safavean family, gave up their cities to the King, and flocking in troops to the royal army, they girt their loins in his service and placed their lives and persons at his disposal. The affairs of Melik Mahmôd became straitened, and that distinguished city was captured. Melik Mahmôd was thrown into prison, and there, by the officiousness of one of the Omarâs, was put to death, without the knowledge of the King. Whilst Shah Tahmâsb was in Meshed, I removed from Mâzenderân to Asterâbâd, where I met with a Seyyid of praiseworthy qualities, Seyyid *Mofid* of that town, who was one of the excellent men of his age. Thence I went to Meshed, and had the honour of visiting the tomb of Rizâ, on whom be peace! Here I chose to make my abode; and the King, from his proneness to the encouragement of merit and his condescension, which were the distinguishing qualities of that exalted race, came to my house, and shewed me great kindness. During this time he had conflicts with the Abdâli Afghâns and with the rebels of the different districts of that province, and obtained victory over them all.

At the period of the siege of the holy Meshed, when troops of soldiers and peasantry from all parts of Khorâsân flocked to the royal camp, *Nadr Coli Beg* of the Afshâr tribe, and a native of Abiverd, was also of the number of those who came to the camp. By degrees he became the object on which the royal favours centered, and by the

aid of fortune obtained the powerful and illustrious situation of Côrchi Bâshi Gari,[1] and the title of Tahmâsb Coli Khân. But with the Omarâs and the lords of dignities he had no lustre, and knowing them to be a thorn in his way, he began to labour for their ruin. The King, at first, had perfect regard for him, so that the management of all the important affairs of the empire became subject to his judgement and opinion, and he gained unlimited authority.

For my part, though in that blessed town I had a multitude of friends, I held little society with the people, and busied myself with my own affairs. I there wrote a great part of my book called Romôz Kashfieh, and some other treatises; and sometimes went into the company of the grandees and men of ability.

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[1] قورچي باشي is a Turkish title, equivalent to our Master of the Ordnance.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Formation of a fourth Divan.

THE poems which during this length of time I had composed, I now collected together, and this is my fourth Divan. In the above-mentioned town was the scientific Seyyid Mir *Mohammed Taki Rizâvi* of Khorâsân, who was one of the pious men and standards of the age; and of the renowned and eminent men of that place was the late Mojtahid Mawlâna *Mohammed Rafia*, of Gilan. In that town was also the excellent collector of accomplishments, the investigator of truth, Mawlâna *Mohammed Shafia* of Gilan, one of the most acute of philosophers, and in the mean stage of wisdom the paragon of his times. All of them displayed towards me a perfect friendship and familiarity, and now, having reached the world of perpetuity, not one of them is bound in the fetters of life. At this period I took a fancy to the style of Saadi's Bostân, and having begun to write in that species of composition, and given to my Mesnavi the name of Kharâbât, I entered many sub-

lime subjects and much agreeable discourse in that book, in verse. The opening of my poem is this :[1]

Thanks to the old man of the tavern,
Who washed from my heart the restraint of the law;
Who conferred on me a mind free from thought;
And gave me such a dwelling as a wine-house.

One thousand two hundred verses of it were written, but it never arrived at completion: I here pen a few couplets which I have borne in my recollection.

Lines.[2]

Listen, O monarch of happy disposition;
Open your ears for a moment to a sage adviser.
First of all, take the path of a good institution;
For the people incline to the religion of their kings.

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[1] ثناهاست پیر خرابات‌را
که شست از دلم لوث طامات‌را
عطا کرد ز اندیشه فارغ دلی
چو میخانه بخشید سر منزلی

[2] الا ای جهاندار فرخنده خوی
دمی گوش بکشا بفرخنده گوی
نخستین نکو کیر راه شلوك
که خلقی گرایند بدین ملوك

A Sovereign should be a man of approved morality,
And should sympathize with the sufferings of his followers.
You that are the mounted leader[1] on the road of life, beware;
Let it not appear, that you are a guide to error.
If you do not yourself know, ask of him that knows;
Ask of the enlightened of mind, the intelligent.
Be a purchaser of those who improve their understandings;
To dull and mean persons say, I despise you.

جهاندار باید پسندیده کیش
غم پیروان خور بدنبال خویش
قلاووز راهي بیندیش حال
مبادا که باشي دلیل ضلال
و کر خود ندانی ز داننده پرس
ز روشن دلان شناسنده پرس
خرد پرورانرا خریدار باش
تن تیرهٔ سفله کو خار باش

[1] The Persian Manuscript has this marginal note قلاووز بر وزن فنادوز سواراني که بجهت محافظت لشکر برون لشکر میباشند بتخفیف واو هم آمده است که بر وزن تجاوز باشد و با راي بي نقطه هم کفته اند و کویند ترکیست 'Calâvôz, of the same measure as Fenâdôz, is the name given to those horsemen who for the guard of the army take their place in the exterior. It has been used also with an ecthlipsis of the Waw, in the measure of Tajâvoz. Some have pronounced it with a Re instead of a Ze. It is said to be a Turkish word.' Borhân Câtia.

Cherish the mind and intellect that solve difficulties,
And those that seek knowledge with sense and discretion.
Conduct your affairs by the guidance of the experienced;
Make your head weigh heavy with the brain of intellect.
A light-headed person is unfit for business;
For an empty drum is better than a head devoid of brains.
Endeavour to breathe with an enlightened spirit:
A learned man is better than a whole world *of ignorants.*
Look into the character of those who profess learning;
Neither the rose nor the Zeimarân is without a thorn.[1]

بپرور دل و عقل مشکل کشای
و دانش پژوهان با هوش و رای
بتدبیر سنجیدگان کار کن
ز مغز خرد سر کرانبار کن
سبکسر نیاید بکار ای پسر
که طبلۀ تهی به ز بیمغز سر
بروشن روانی بر آور دمی
که یکسرد دانا به از عالمی
نظر کن در احوال دانش وران
که بی خار نبود گل و ضیران

[1] The word ضیران which is also written ضیران and ضومران and ضمران I find described generally as *an odorijerous herb, a wild fragrant herb,* and especially as *Sweet Basil.* This however I suspect is not its name, as sweet basil is not a thorny plant: unless allusion be made to its remarkably hairy calyx. Whatever name it may bear in English Botany, it appears certainly to be the plant in Greek called Ὤκιμον.

Every troop of men, in the convent, as in the wine-house,
Has evermore some strange foot in the midst of it.
In every jar that you see, are both dregs and clear wine:
And wide is the expanse of the plain of vain glory.
When you reckon an empty pretension as one full of merit,[1]
The truly learned man will withdraw from your side.
In that place where on potsherds a current price is paid,
Why should the pearl be brought forth from its shell?
Were excellence easy of gain to mere pretension,
Every silly boaster would become a Plato.
If a man of low capacity steals away a few words,

بهر فرقه در دیر و میخانه
بود در میان پای بیکانه
بهر خم که بینی بود درد و صاف
فراخست پهنای میدان لاف
چو دعوی کرانرا شماری تهی
کند از تو داننده پهلو تهی
بجائی که باشد رواج خزف
چرا گوهر آید برون از صدف
بدعوی میسر بدی گر هنر
فلاطون شدی لافئ خیره سر
فرومایهٔ گر بدزدد دو حرف

[1] The obvious and simplest construction of the Persian line would be, *When you reckon as empty a pretension full of weight.* But in this sense I cannot to my own satisfaction connect it with the accompanying verses. I have little doubt it will bear the interpretation I have given it.

He is not thereby made commensurable with the deep ocean.
Let it be hidden from common sight, which is the sharp Egyptian, and which the blunt wooden sword;
It will be manifest to the eye of the quick-sighted.
The world is deceitful; should you wish for a touch-stone,
So that no doubt may remain behind the curtain of concealment;
Make, O virtuous man, you who meditate on experience,
A trial of your companions by their temper and qualities.
In appearance, all have the human countenance;
In disposition, many are inferior to calves and asses.
Make not a sour face to the counsel of an adviser;
A well-wisher's language is ever bitter.
That happy man bears away the ball of love and friendship,
Who with his friend is mild, and is harsh with his enemy.

نکردد هم آورد دریای ژرف
نهان تیغ مصری و چوبین کند
عیانست پیش نظرهای تند
فریبنده دنیاست سنك محك
چو خواهی نماند پس پرده شك
بکیر ای نکو کار عبرت سکال
عیار حریفان بخوی و خصال
بصورت همه آدمی پیکرند
بسیوت بسی کم ز کاو و خرند
ترش رو ز پند سخن کو مکن
نکو خواهرا تلخ باشد سخن
برد کوی مهر آن فروزنده بخت
که با دوست نرم است و با خصم سخت

Root out of your heart the vein and fibre of obduracy;
It is a hard stone, that breaks every lancet:
The counsel of the searcher after wisdom takes no hold on you;
As the rain of providence never penetrates to the foundation of a mountain.
Before the breath of good advisers be as the dust of the earth;
And an acceptor of truth from the pure heart.
Why do you sleep in repose, O possessor of the crown and helmet!
With poor men around you, destitute of meat or clothing;
Hidden in their mourning weeds, as musk is in its bag,
They have bellies without food, and throats parched with thirst.
Seek not comfort from the preparations of merriment;

رگ و ریشهٔ قسوت از دل بکن
که سنگ درشتست نشتر شکن
نگیرد بتو پند حکمت پژوه
چو باران رحمت به بنیاد کوه
به پیش دم ناصحان خاک باش
پذیرای حق از دل پاک باش
براحت چه خسپی ابا تاج و ترگ
بگردت فقیران بی ساز و برگ
بموئینه پنهان چو در نافه مشگ
شکم بی طعام و گلوگاه خشگ
مجو راحت از برگ و ساز طرب

But labour for the happiness of the people of God.
If you do not tie up the oppressor in the noose of a halter,
You must tear away your heart from royalty and prosperity.
What grace of happiness can remain in that country,
Where the dark criminal stretches forth his arm?
Cherish not the vile and base; beware;
Sow not the seed of a tree which is all thorn.
When to the high court of the king of kings
A man provoked to intolerance by the injustice of the oppressor
Complains, and says, "The Soltán will award him the punishment he deserves:"
If thou grantest him not justice, God will grant it.
Wherever in thy empire iniquity is gone abroad,

تن آسائي خلق يزدان طلب
نه بندي چو ظالم بخم كمند
بايد دل از ملك و اقبال كند
چه رونق بماند در آن مرز و بوم
كه بازو كشايد تبه‌كار شوم
مكن پرورش سفله‌را زينهار
درختي كه خار است بارش مكار
بديوان شاهنشهٔ بيهمال
ز بيداد ظالم پژوليده حال
بنالد كه سلطان سزا ميدهد
تو چون داد ندهي خدا ميدهد
بملك تو هر جا كه بيداد رفت

There it is as though thy authority were cancelled.
The heart of the weak cannot bear a rude touch;
Be fearful of the sigh of the enfeebled.
Fear not the roar of the leopards of war;
But dread the groans of an afflicted heart.
Become not the laughing-stock of your friendly-looking enemy;
That contemptible character would tear you up by the roots.
The shepherd who relies on the claws of the wolf
Is void of utility; or rather his detriment is great.
Indulge not in the pleasures of base sensuality
What pleasure is greater than justice and generosity?
The man departs; but his good name remains;
Happy is he that seeks to make a good end!

بود از تو چون از میان داد رفت
دل عاجزان بر نتابد خراش
ز آه ضعیفان حذرناك باش
مترس از غریو هزبران جنك
حذر کن ز افغان دلهاي تنك
مشو سخرهٔ دشمن دوست روي
که بیخت کند آن نکوهیده خوي
شباني که تازد بچنکال کرك
زبونست سودش زیانش سترك
نه پیچي بلذّات نفس دژم
چه لذّت فزونتر ز عدل و کرم
رود مرد و ماند بجا نام نیك
خنك آنکه جوید سرانجام نیك

Also,[1]

A person, whose affections were sunk into the mire,
Held language in disparagement of a virtuous man.
A tale-bearer informed the virtuous man of his discourse;
And observe, in what manner he strung the pearls of his inward sentiments.
" Before me is a road, wide and far-extending;
" And I am sinking in a deep sea with a thousand perplexities.
" If good fortune should guide me to the shore,
" And I draw myself forth from this abyss,
" I have no fear of his evil speaking:
" How can a pure soul contract pollution?
" But if my pitcher come not up entire;
" If my cords resolve to flax, and my works are weak;

ایضًا

یکي بار دل در کل افتادهٔ
سخن راند در خبث آزادهٔ
سخن چین حدیثش بآزاده گفت
نگر تا چه سان کوهر راز سفت
مرا هست در پیش راهي شگرف
بصد حیرتم غرق دریاي ژرف
بساحل اگر بخت شد رهنمون
و زین لجّه رخت من آمد برون
ندارم ز بد گفتنش هیچ باك
کجا گیرد آلودهکي جان پاك
و گر بر نیاید سبویم درست
شود رشتها پنبه و کار سست

" Let no one speak better of me than he speaks;
" I shall be deserving of much bitterer language than his."
HAZIN, learn the manners of those that walk in the way;
And take the talk of the world altogether as empty wind.
Thy business at present is with thyself;
Spend not thy time about the good or bad qualities of others.
Thy companions are perfidious, thy road is intricate;
Risk on no diversion the opportunity of performing thy journey.

Also.[1]

One night I raised my head from my bosom,
As a sigh that rises from wounded hearts;
Avidity stood conspicuous to my sight,
With countenance more hideous than the ugliest of faces.

از آنم نکوتر نکوید کسي
سزاوار ناخوشترم ز آن بسي
حزين سيرت رهروان ياد گير
سراسر حديث جهان باد گير
ترا با خود افتاده امروز کار
به نيک و بد کس مبر روزگار
حريفان دغل باز و ره پيچ پيچ
مبادا که فرصت ببازي بهيچ

ايضاً

شبي سر بر آوردم از جيب خويش
چو آهي که خيزد ز دلهاي ريش
طمع جلوه گر شد مرا در نظر
ز هر زشت رو پيکري زشت تر

I said to her, O banished of the wise and men of sense!
Who is thy father, pray tell me, in this world?
She said, Doubt in providence and destiny,
And closing the eyes to the creator of loss and profit.[1]
I rejoined, Tell me, what is thy occupation?
What dost thou weave in this workshop of two surfaces?
What manufacture dost thou carry on in general and in particular?
She replied, Corruption, ignominy, and baseness.
I said to her, About the gain arising from thy trade,
Give me some information, O stupid wench!
What is thy end, and what is thy issue?

بدو گفتم اي رانندهٔ بخردان
پدر کیستت باز گو در جهان
بگفتا که شك در قضا و قدر

نظر بستن از خالق نفع و ضرر
بگفتم که از پیشهٔ خود بگو
چه بافي درین کارگاهٔ دو رو
چه صنعت کري داري از جز و کل.
بگفتا زبوني و حواري و ذل
بدو گفتم از حاصل خود خبر
بگو شمهٔ باز اي خیره سر
مآلت کدام است و غایت کدام

[1] This line is otherwise read نظر بستن از خلق نفع و ضرر *Binding the sight from the form, nature, or creation of benefit and injury.*

She answered, It is disappointment; and so farewell.

Also.[1]

I have heard that Isa, on whom be peace!
Had an ass, very lazy and tender-footed.
In a whole day he would not travel two farsangs;
Was an ass ever quick-paced from his own spiritedness?
It so happened that one night he had no mind for water,
And the heart of Isa burnt with pain for his indisposition.
With all his occupation in the duties of the rubric, and the length of his prayers,
Amidst his continual supplications, and his secret and mental murmurs of devotion,
He was unable that night to take a moment's rest.
I have heard that he shewed him water two hundred times.

بگفتا که حرمان بود و السّلام

ایضًا[1]

شنیدم که عیسي علیه السّلام
خري داشتي کاهل و سست گام
بروزي نکردي دو فرسنگ طي
خر از مردمي کي شود تند پي
قضارا نبودش شبي میل آب
دل عیسوي از غم او بتاب
بآن شغل طامات و طول نماز
دوام نیاز و مناجات و راز
در آن شب نیارست آسوده بود
شنیدم دو صد نوبت آبش نمود

A disciple filled with wonder at this extraordinary sight
Had the curiosity to ask the meaning of it, and received for answer : .
" If the speechless ass should be thirsty,
" What shall he do? Whom shall he bring as his interpreter?
" The fire of oppression might be lighted up,
" And my reputation brought to the level of the ground.
" It would be inhuman to force him the whole day long
" To carry burdens, and at night to leave him parched with thirst.
" We must not be negligent of his affairs,
" Since the care of them is entrusted to our charge.
HAZIN, from the proceedings of the good and virtuous
Learn a generous humanity, and set thy heart on their practice.

حواري تعجب كنان از شگفت
فضولانه پرسيد و پاسخ گرفت
كه گر تشنه باشد خر بيزبان
چه سازد كرا آورد ترجمان
شود آتش جوري انگيخته
بخاك آبرو كردم ريخته
مروت نباشد كه روز دراز
كشد بار و ماند بشب تشنه باز
نشايد شدن غافل از كار او
حوالت بما رفته تيمار او
حزين از روشهاي نيك اختران
جوانمردي آموز و دل نه بر آن

Why art thou bewildered? See the road of worthy men;
Behold on this path the steps of travellers.
Take a draught from the cup of polished manliness;
And wake thy sleeping heart with a sprinkle of cold water.

Taste for poetical and elegant composition has turned the reins of my ink-dropping pen away from the road which lay before it. Let not those who look into my work take occasion hence to criticise me.

چه سر کشتهٔ راهٔ مردان ببین
درین ره پیٔ ره نوردان ببین
ز جام مروت شرابی بزن
دل خفته‌را مشت آبی بزن

CHAPTER XXXII.

Approach of Ashraf the Afghân with his army, and departure of the King and the Author of this history from Meshed towards Irâk. — Engagement of the exalted monarch with Ashraf the Afghân, and flight of the rebels.—March of the victorious commanders towards Isphahan.—The Author goes into the province of Mâzenderân.—Removes from Mâzenderân to Tehrân.

ASHRAF the Afghân, having now raised himself to the fullness of power and splendour in Isphahan, began to be apprehensive on the part of the exalted king Tahmâsb, lest, establishing himself with independent sovereignty in Khorâsân, he should employ his efforts towards his expulsion. In anticipation, therefore, of the King's attack, Ashraf set out on his march to Khorâsân with a great retinue and an immense army. The Shah, and Tahmâsb Coli Khan, with the Omarâs, hastily moved from Meshed, with all the troops they could muster, in the intention to give him battle. This event happened in the month Safar, one

thousand one hundred and forty-two, in which year the Afghans were rooted out of Persia. The King was earnest in his endeavours that I should accompany him, and he sent to me a number of his confidential servants, who exerted all their means of persuasion. Unable to resist their importunities, I also went with them the first stage; but finding it diagreeable to travel in the midst of that army, I made my excuses to the King at the end of the day's march, and lightening his sorrow as much as I could at my departure, I retired to the rear of the line, where I performed my journies to my heart's content, always leaving a small interval between myself and the troops. When the King arrived at the town of Bastâm, a detachment from the Afghan army advanced upon his park of artillery with the intent to carry off some part of it by surprise; but the guards, being aware of their approach, repelled them. At the expiration of two days from that time, the armies met at a stream of water called, Mehmân Dôst. The Kizil Bâsh, though not equal in number to one half of the Afghan troops, drew up their files under the royal banners, and pressed on the soil the foot of firmness and of manhood. The Afghans also bravely crowded forward to the ring of contention, and a royal battle was engaged. The musketeers who marched on foot by the King's stirrup, and the imperial cannoneers, on that day, furnished the full measure of skill and

bravery, and several times drove from the field the most advanced and boldest of the Afghans, pouring ball like hail upon their columns; whilst the mounted heroes of the Kizil Bâsh, galloping on their flanks from right and left, trampled on the ground all they encompassed within their march. Till noon-day the fight was warmly maintained. At last, from the repeated onsets of the king's troops, the Afghans yielded the foot from the ground of stability, and all their exertions ended in defeat; their ranks fell into confusion, and a general rout made its way through that immense army. Ashraf, and the other leaders faced about from the field of battle and took to flight. Many times on their retreat they attempted once more to prepare themselves for a renewal of the engagement; but in vain, and they were compelled in all haste to pursue their road to Isphahan. The King halted at Dâmghân; and for my part, I rested a while in a garden which was close to the scene of action. As soon as the whole army of the Kizil Bâsh had passed by, I mounted on horseback, and riding round the field of battle, I viewed the heaps of slain with the eye of wonder. Until that day the Afghans had not seen the real fight of the Kizil Bâsh, nor felt the arm of true warriors. During the whole engagement not more than two of the Persians, who received a few wounds, became disabled.

After this rout and victory Tahmâsb Coli Khân

thought it suitable to return to the holy Meshed, in order to make the necessary preparations for the expulsion of the Afghans in the ensuing year. But the King refused his consent, and they marched towards Isphahan; whither also every trooper or magistrate of the Afghans now fled from every town in which they were stationed; whilst the citizens of each place flocked in thousands to give a respectful reception to the Shah's cavalcade, as it approached them; and raised shouts of joy and thanksgiving to Saturn upward. From all parts reinforcements joined the victorious army.

Immediately after my departure from the town of *Sabzavâr*,[1] I had been attacked with a fever which in *Dâmghân*[2] became violent, and I made a halt for ten days. My illness increased, and winter was come on. I went, by the road of the villages called Hazâr Jerîb, to the town of *Sâri*[3]

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[1] This is a town of Khorasan, situated about half way on the road from Meshed to Dâmghân, and famous for the large size and abundance of its poultry.

[2] There is a small district between Khorasan and Mazenderan of which this town is the capital. Kinnier in his *Geography of Persia* says, "Dâmghân is supposed to be the ancient Hecatompylos, for some time the metropolis of the Parthian empire."

[3] The capital of the province. "It is noticed," says Sir J. Malcolm, "in the first dawn of Persian history, and continues, with its name unchanged, a place of some consequence. Within

in Mazenderan, and suffered severe pain during that journey from the violence of my distemper. In that city I still continued ill and was confined to my bed for ten months. There remained no hopes of my life; but the Almighty granted me restoration to health; and a number of studious and clever young men who were assembled in the town having petitioned me to give them lectures, I consented and they began to read with me the books called Osôl Kâfi, Man La Yahdzorho 'L Fakîh, Ilâhiât Shafâ, and Sharh Tajrîd. These were the last of my disputations, as from that time forward I abandoned the exercise of teaching. Having passed the spring season very pleasantly in Mazenderan, I left that heavenly country and arrived at Tehran. In the mean time Ispahan had been taken and the Afghans extirpated; the brief history of which occurrence is this.

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the last century, four temples of the ancient Persians were yet standing in that city, which appear to be the only edifices of this description that have escaped the hand of time, and the persecuting spirit of the Mahomedan religion, if we except those near Baku in Mazenderan, where there are still some very ancient places of worship sacred to the element of fire." Vol. ii. p. 261. of his *History of Persia*.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The Afghans arrive at Isphahan and make preparations for sustaining the war.—The King once more engages a fight with Ashraf the Afghan in the environs of Isphahan, and the Afghans are defeated.—The Court of Sovereignty, Isphahan, is captured, and the Afghans flee to Shiraz.—The army of the Kizil Bâsh pursues the Afghans, under the command of Tahmàsb Coli Khân.—Warfare of the Great Khân with Ashraf the Afghan, and flight of the rebels.—Arrival of Ashraf and the remnant of the Afghans, who escaped the sword, at the town of Lâr.—The brother of Ashraf is killed by the peasants.—The inhabitants of Lâr wrest their strong fort out of the hands of the Afghans.—Dispersion of the Afghan army, and flight of Ashraf in the direction of Candahâr.—A singular circumstance.—Ashraf the Afghan comes to a violent death.

As soon as Ashraf returned to Isphahan after his defeat, mistrusting the people of the town and full of dread on their account, he compelled them to retire and distributed them in the surrounding villages; then, having collected his forces from every side, he applied himself to the preparation of his artillery. As he had made peace with the

Turks, he asked them for a troop of able artillerymen; and Ahmed, the Turkish Pasha, sent a whole brigade of them to his assistance. When the King arrived in the neighbourhood of Isphahan, the Afghans met him with an arrayed army and an immense park of artillery, and drew up their line of battle. The army of the Kizil Bâsh and the musketeers who marched by the Shah's stirrup, first made an attack on their artillery, and killing all the Turks gained possession of the field pieces. Then, after much strife and slaughter, discomfiture again fell upon the Afghans; and the Persians, having cut off about four thousand of their heads, erected with them a lofty pillar.

Ashraf and his Afghans returned to Isphahan, broken and in a wretched condition. They packed up hastily whatever they had or could lay their hands on of goods and treasure, and departed all together in the greatest confusion for the province of Fârs, of which they held possession. Scattered bodies of them, previously, taking their opportunity, broke open the stores in the deserted bazars, and pillaged or destroyed the property; and whomsoever they found in concealment, either within the city or without, they put to death without mercy. One of the murdered persons was the learned Mawla Aga *Mehdi*, son and successor of the blessed Mojtahid Aga Hâdi of Mazenderan, on whom be mercy! who ranked among the best of men, and the sincerest of my friends.

A few days afterwards, the King and the army of the Kizil Bâsh entered the city, and the town's people returning thither from the neighbouring country, every person employed himself in repairing his condition. The King took up his abode in his royal palace, whilst Tahmâsb Coli Khan was desirous of a return to Khorâsân. After urging and obtaining certain demands the Khan was deputed to the pursuit of the Afghans. At that time the road to Shiraz, which passes over a severely cold country, was full of snow and the passage was difficult. The Great Khan, however, who in drawing together troops and leading an army is the phœnix of the age, marched to Shiraz, where Ashraf and the Afghans, who had entered the city, had again assembled their forces, and having offered money and benefits to straggling bodies of the tribes in those confines, and joined them though against their will, yet by force of their covetousness, to their army, were in a state of readiness to take the field. As soon as the army of the Kizil Bâsh came within five farsangs of the city, the Afghans pressed forward to face them again in full throng, and making severe efforts they prolonged the conflict to four days' duration. In truth the army of the Kizil Bâsh, during that engagement, gave full proof also of their courage and alacrity, and slew a great number of the Afghans, those of them, who escaped the sword, taking to their heels for

safety. On this occasion the Afghans had set fire to the houses in Shiraz, and carried away the people's property in plunder. A body of their chiefs being taken alive were made to suffer the punishment of their crimes. Among them was the Miânji,[1] the spiritual director of Mahmôd, Molla Zafrân, with others like him of those brute animals. The Great Khan, after this splendid victory, entered Shiraz and applied himself to the tranquillization and establishment of the people, and to the arrangement of the affairs of that province.

Ashraf and the remains of his army, which still amounted to above two-and-twenty thousand men, fleeing in the most wretched condition had taken the road of the Lâr country, and fearing the pursuit of the Kizil Bâsh gave themselves not a moment's rest from marching late and early. Most of them at length halting here and there through fatigue on the road were destroyed. From stage to stage they scattered by the way heaps of bodies of their old men, children, and sick, whom, being unable to proceed on the march, they slaughtered of their own accord; so that from Shiraz to the town of Lâr, which is fifteen days' journey, the whole distance was strewed with their slain. As

[1] ميانجي which is erroneously written in my MS. مياجي and appears to be a corrupt Persian word, I find interpreted a *mediator, schoolmaster,* &c.

soon as the rumour of their flight was spread abroad, the peasants of all the villages and places bordering on the road, though consisting individually but of ten houses at most, arming their hands with muskets and arrows stood to face that immense army, and put it to the rout; for the Afghans from fear of their pursuers had no opportunity to stop and engage in a conflict with any one. Along the whole of that road not a crust of bread fell into their hands; they lived entirely on the flesh of their horses and asses; and a nation laden with gold and gems was dying of hunger.

When at length they came to Lâr, it occurred to Ashraf, that, as the castle[1] belonging to that city is one of the strongest in the world, he might there maintain himself, and ask assistance of the Turks. He therefore sent his brother with a body of troops and a great quantity of treasure to proceed by sea to Basra and solicit the aid of the Turkish government. But the brother had no sooner set out on his journey than he was overwhelmed by the peasantry of the surrounding districts, who killed him and carried away his wealth.

The Afghan who was governor of Lâr, went down one day to make his salutations to Ashraf.

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[1] The particular name of this fort, I am informed, is Kirâsh قراش

He at that time held in custody five-and-twenty Ayâns of Lâr in the castle. The prisoners being informed of his departure issued from the place of their confinement, and having slain with their own swords some forty Afghans who had remained in the castle, and having well secured the gate, they found in the lodgings of the Governor and his Afghans a few stands of muskets, and taking upon themselves to defend that immense fort, they raised from its towers a cry for the prosperity of the Shah's government. As the conquest of the castle, though its defenders be but five-and-twenty persons, is no easy matter, Ashraf with all his threats and promises could not succeed in pacifying them. During the nine days that he halted at Lâr, a party of his men each night taking their affairs into their own hands marched away in the hope of reaching some place of safety; but they were all intercepted by the peasants of those parts, who held not themselves dispensed with from killing them and taking their effects.

When Ashraf beheld his ruinous condition, he became a prey to boundless fright and fled by the road to Candahâr. As they traversed that warm country, his men also separated from him every day in different parties, and took the direction of the sea-coast; and the peasantry carried on the same business with them. One body of them reached the coast and embarked; but by the providence of God a great number of the vessels sank, and a

vast multitude of the fugitives went to the bottom of the sea. Another part of them was cast on the shores of Lahsâ, Ommân, and the territory of Sind. Sheikh Beni Khâlid, who is the Lord of Lahsâ, having seized them, gave orders that they should be put to death. Afterwards, yielding to their prayers and supplications he spared their lives, but stripped them of their clothes and arms and turned them naked into the desert.

When I arrived some time subsequently on the coast of Ommân, I saw in the city of Mascat the son of one of the brothers of Ashraf, who was about twenty years of age, and Khodâdâd Khan, who had been governor of Lâr, and was one of the great lords of the Afghans, both with leather sacks on their shoulders carrying water for their living from house to house. Having sent for them, I put to them some questions and had a long conversation with them. An Afghan named Sarvar Khan, one of their princes, was also there. I was told that he worked in the clay-pits for hire. They brought him also to me, and I asked him about his health and circumstances.

Ashraf, who on his way from Lâr to Candahâr, had taken the road through the province of Balòchistân, was attacked at every pass by the peasants and people of those parts, who severally killed and plundered a portion of his army, until his wealth and forces were annihilated. He himself was driving forward with all speed, when the

son of Abd Allah Borôhi, of the Balôch [1] tribe, found him in their confines with two or three attendants, and making haste to kill him sent his head with a diamond of great value which he found on his arm to Shah Tahmâsb. The noble monarch gave the diamond to his messenger, and for him a robe of honour was granted.

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[1] In my manuscript this word is, I believe incorrectly, marked with a teshdid, بلّوچ and lower down قلعت is written for خلعت



CHAPTER XXXIV.

March of the Great Khan to Hamadân.—His conflicts with the Turks, and victory over them.—The Author removes from Tehrân to Isphahân.—The Khan marches his army into Azerbâijân, reconquers the court of Sovereignty, Tabriz, and puts the Turks to flight.—Expedition of the Great Khan from Azerbâijân to Khorâsân.—Siege of the Court of Sovereignty, Herât.—The Author removes from Isphahan to Shiraz.—Arrives at Bender Abbâsi and resolves on a journey to Mecca.

After the fortunate termination of these affairs, Tahmâsb Coli Khan marching from Fârs by the road of Arabistân and Loristân came to Calam Row Ali Shakar, where he engaged the Pasha of Hamadân and the Turkish troops, and having gained a victory over them and slain an immense number of their men, he subdued and cleared of enemies the whole territory of Irâk. The few Turks who were a remnant of the sword fled to Bagdad. At that time, as he had obtained power

and rule over the affairs, both general and particular, of all the royal provinces, the King had given to him his own diadem [1] and seal; but he felt sick and annoyed at his overbearance and superiority.

For my part, I came from Tehran to Isphahan, and beheld that great city, notwithstanding the presence of the king, in utter ruin and desertion. Of all that population and of my friends scarcely any one remained. At that period the excellent Mawla, Molla *Mohammed Shafia*, of Gilân, whom I have before mentioned, had come to Isphahan and was Sheikh Al Islâm. In that city he breathed his last. There also was that ingenious scholar Sheikh *Abd Allah* of Gilân, who possessed most laudable qualities, and ranked among my friends. He died a short time ago. Leading a retired life in that city was also the excellent Mawla, Molla *Mohammed Jafar* of Sabzavâr, who was one of the knowing and contemplative devotees [2] and had maintained with me a friendship of long standing. At that time he came once by night to my house and I had the happiness of enjoying his society. In Isphahan I staid six

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[1] جيقه properly a distinguished ornament of jewels worn on the turban of the monarch.

[2] اتقياي معارف مو مراقبان religious men who have graduated in the mysteries of Sofyism and attained the rank and title of Aârif, otherwise Râkib.

months, and spoke profitable words to the king, more than once pointing out to him several things which apparently would ensure the stability of his throne and fortunes: but it fell not conformable to the decrees of fate.

Tahmâsb Coli Khân went to Azerbâïjân, and having liberated its capital, Tabriz, and fought a severe battle with the Turks, in which he completely defeated them, he retook possession of all that part of the province of Azerbâïjân, which is on this side of the river Aras,[1] and to every place appointed a governor. The other side of that river he did not trouble himself about, but entered into a negotiation of peace with the Turkish commanders on the frontier; and whereas at that time there was a disturbance in Khorasân, raised by a body of Turkomans and the Abdâli Afghans of Herât, who had found the field clear of all resistance, he turned the reins of his direction towards that province, and having given the Turkomans an effectual chastisement, he advanced against the castle of Herât and besieged the Afghans.

And as a set of persons, in the small town of Dargazin, one of the dependencies of Hamadân, who during the time of the Afghans had been friendly with them and had raised seditions, being now come together held forth headstrong pretensions and had fortified the castle, the King,

[1] The Araxes of the Greeks and Romans.

with a design to repress their rebellion and to effect the liberation of the rest of Azerbâïjan, set out on his march from Isphahan and insisted much on my accompanying him. But at that time I was no longer in order nor in a condition for such a journey, and retiring with an excuse[1] I departed from Isphahan towards Shiraz, to spend some time in that city, till something should occur.[2]

On my arrival at Shiraz, I found that city in ruin and confusion. Of all my great friends there, the greatest I had in the world, not one remained on foot; and I met with a crowd of their children and relatives in the most melancholy condition and without resource. Among them was Mirza *Hâdi*, son and successor of the late Mawla, Shah Mohammed Shirâzi, who was not void of some attraction towards God. Having abandoned the conversation and life of the world, he dwelt in the convents and cemeteries of that city, and was utterly detached from temporal affairs and eccentric in his thoughts and practices. As he had a

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[1] The Persian phrase, which deserves to be remarked, is پهلو تهي نمودن literally *having caused my side to appear vacant.*

[2] The expression in the text تا چه پيش آيد being elliptical is therefore susceptible of much variety of translation. It might be rendered here *to watch the approach of coming events.*

friendship of long standing for me, he paid me a visit, and what is very remarkable is this, that even in the condition in which he then was he had a wonderful taste for the enigma.[1] Though he made no riddles himself, he was extremely forward and eager for their discussion, and in the solution of them was very ingenious. So quick indeed was he in his transitions,[2] that I never saw any master of the art equal in ability to him. For myself, I never had any favour for the enigma; I thought it an unprofitable study, and begrudged the employment of my thoughts upon it. But as the pliability and correct taste which the mind acquires by education are of assistance in every thing, and as genius makes its own whatever it applies itself to, I mastered this method of composition also, in the style which suited it, and produced in the society of the masters of this art many beautiful enigmas. A great number were composed by me impromptu during a day or two that I passed in the company of the said Mirza Hâdi, and a few that occur to me at the moment of writing this I here insert, as follows.

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[1] معمّا which comprises every kind of riddle, pun, charade, conundrum, &c.

[2] انتقال migration or transition between relative ideas, which every one knows is the exercise of the mind in solving enigmas.

On the word Mâlik, or King.[1]

O recluse of withered fortunes and curled up!
The breath of thy coldness has blown away our carpet.
It turned to the season of the fall when thou camest towards the orchard:
The rose became broken-leaved and blasted with cold.

On the word Nasir, or Defender.[2]

So much pain has come to our soul from thy thumb-ring,[3]

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[1] باسم مالك

اي زاهد خشك بخت بر كرديده
دم سردي تو بساط ما برچيده
شد فصل خزان چو آمدي سوي چمن
كل كشت شكسته برك و سرما ديده

The art of these conundrums is to involve some word or words in the composition, either expressed or understood, from which the thema may be formed. The solution of this, I believe, is found in the last line, where the word كل being broken and inverted, and taking ما for its head or first syllable, becomes مالك

[2] باسم نصير

از بسكه بجان از غم زهكير تو آمد

I am told by a Persian friend, that the solution of this is by the Arabic word نصل *an arrow;* but I must confess I cannot comprehend how it is managed.

[3] زهكير a ring, commonly of bone, worn by archers on the thumb, to save it from being cut by the bow-string.

That the point of thy arrow now falls idly on the shaft of thy shots.

On the word Khânadân, or Household.[1]

If the eye of the virtuous is a stranger to the sleep of quiet,
We have at last after this mortal life a vigilant and kind fortune awaiting us.

On the word Jamâl, or Beauty.[2]

Last year you opened the road of oppression over my hopes;
This year you have done the same without reason or limit.

On the word Tarsâ, or Pagan.[3]

The tear that starts in the eye of love—when can it rest stationary,

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پیکان تو بی‌خود بسر تیر تو آمد

[1] باسم خاندان

خواب راحت کو نه بیند دیدهٔ صاحبدلان
بخت بیداري با مي ماند اخر از جهان

Of this I have not been able to obtain any kind of solution.

[2] باسم جمال

پارینه رهٔ جور بر آمال کشادي
بیموجب و بیحد شده امسال کشادي

The verses here, I believe, direct the formation of the thema from the words جور and آمال but in what way I leave to the discovery of the ingenious.

[3] باسم ترسا

اشك در دیدهٔ سودا زده کي جا دارد

Some learned Orientalist will, it is to be hoped, favour the

As long as the maniac turns his face to the thorns and brambles of the desert?

On the word Amân, or Safety.[1]

The shirt of the enraged mirror became a tunic,
When thy arrow was seen transparent on my bosom.

On the word Cabà, or Tunic.[2]

Whilst I seal my lips amidst my wretched existence in the world,

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تا كه رو جانب خار و خس صحرا دارد

admirers of the enigma with a solution of this, to which I am sorry to confess I can give no clue.

[1] باسم امان

پيراهن آئينه بيتاب قبا شد
بر سينهٔ من تير تو تا عكس نما شد

The formation of the thema appears to be directed here by the inversion of the word نما making امن There is also no doubt a direction for completing it by the insertion in its proper place of the letter ا so as to make امان but in what manner I have not been able to discover. The expression پيراهن قبا شدن is equivalent to the well-known phrase of our sacred scriptures, *rending the garments* in token of vexation. The پيراهن or shirt, which is a close raiment, must be torn down in front to make a قبا a coat or tunic, the fore part of which is open.

[2] باسم قبا

مهر بر لب چون زنم با تيرهٔ روزي در جهان

My heart without the night of thy union is fit only for sighs and lamentation.

On the word Nafy, or Negation.[1]

Metaphor and vanity are in the world so much become Reality, that truth is departed from the midst of us.

بي شب وصل تو دل لايق بآه است و فغان

To form the thema the Arabic word قلب must be taken, and the letters لب be covered up so that ق only remain. To this با must be added from the word بآه and you have قبا.

باسم نفي

مجاز و باطل از بس در زمانه
حقيقت كشت حق رفت از ميانه

The solution of this is connected with the Arabic word ثبوت

It may not be disagreeable to the Orientalist, that I add the following with which I have been favoured by a Persian friend:

باسم قاسم

يك بانك كلاغ و نيم كنجد
اسم بت ما در آن بگنجد

To the cry of the rook قا if you add one half of the Arabic word سم سم corresponding with the Persian كنجد you have the thema قاسم.

باسم يوسف

ر يعقوب كمر بفكني پاشنه

In short, the plundered inhabitants of Shirâz gathered round me, and displaying to me their condition moved my heart from its place, so that

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نهي بَه بجايش ولي پاش نه

If from يعقوب the *heel* be taken, in Arabic عقب there remains يو to which if you add the Arabic word for بَه a quince, viz. سفرجل without its *foot* رجل you form the thema يوسف

باسم جعفر

جعل پا شكسته ديدم در كذار
شده بر اسپ دم بريده سوار

This conundrum is taken from the beetle mounted on a ball of dung. جعل without its foot is جع to which if you add the Arabic word for a horse فرس without its tail or last letter you have جعفر

باسم عمَر

سر عدوي خدارا بكن تو بر سر مبخ
بكن بكون وي آنگاه پاي خر تا ببخ

The head or first letter of عمر on the first of مبخ makes عم to which add the foot or last letter of خر and you complete عمَر the name of one of the three Caliphs who opposed Ali, and is therefore hated by the Persians, as the Pope is by the Greeks.

under those circumstances it appeared to me disagreeable to remain among them, and I set out thence in the direction of the warm countries of Fârs. Having entered the town of Lâr I staid there through the winter. But neither in that country did I feel any desire to continue my abode; for the whole empire was in a state of ruin, and the royal ordinances and statutes during these few years of interregnum had been broken and scattered to the four winds. There was wanted a king of power, with prudence and judgement, who should occupy himself a length of time with the affairs of each town and village, and with downright severity bring the country to amendment. But in this short space nothing of the kind had yet been effected; and, by the decrees of heaven, in these times there is not to be found on the whole surface of the earth a chief who possesses the proper qualities for governing: on the contrary at the present moment each of the Soltans, and Chiefs, and Commanders throughout the universe is, as far as my opinion goes, and to speak of them as I have found them, of meaner worth and more without rule than any or most of their subjects; except some of the rulers of the Frank kingdoms, who in the institutes and ways of life, and in the government and regulation of their states, are strong and constant. From them, however, by reason of their immense distance,

little or no advantage is derived towards the condition of the people who inhabit the coasts and regions of other climates.[1]

Turning the reins of my direction from Lâr to Bender Abbâsi I arrived in that town, and was there attacked with a long and severe illness. As soon as I obtained relief, I again formed a plan of a journey to Hijâz. A company of Europeans residing in that port were on terms of the kindest and most friendly intimacy with me. As their ships and packets are very spacious and are fitted up with convenient apartments, and their navigators also are more expert on the sea and more skilful in their art than any other nation, I chose to go by a vessel of theirs.

My word-embroidering reed, in order to connect my discourse, will now describe the remainder of the King's history.

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[1] For the just compliment here paid to our Christian princes of Europe I subjoin the authority of the writer's words in the Persian text مکرر بعض فرمان دهان ممالك فرنك که ایشان در قوانین و طرق معاش و ضبط اوضاع خویش استوارند و از آن بسبب مباینت تامه بحال خلق سایر اقالیم و اصقاع فایدهٔ چنان نیست

CHAPTER XXXV.

Engagements of the King with the faction of Dargazìn and the Turkish armies in Azerbâïjân, and his victory over them.—He lays siege to the castle of Iravân, and makes peace with the Turks.—The Author travels by sea from Bender Abbâsi to Bender Sórat, and thence to Mecca, the Revered.—Has the honour of making his procession round the Kaaba, and of performing the sacrificial rites of the Hijjat Ol Islâm.—Returns from his pilgrimage to Bender Abbâsi.—Arrival of the Khan at Isphahan.—Shah Tahmâsb is deposed from the sovereignty, and his son Abbâs Mirza is made King.—Opposition and war of the Bakhtiâri Tribe against the Great Khan, and their subsequent submission.—March of the Great Khan to Bagdad.—Defeat of Ahmed Pasha, and siege of Bagdad.

THE King, having marched from Isphahan, and fought several battles with the rebels of Dargazîn, destroyed their fort, and having reduced to obedience the few who were of a remnant of the sword, he turned his face towards Azerbâïjân. There he crossed the river Araxes. A body of Turkish troops also had been preparing on their side for the conflict, and in the neighbourhood of the town of Iravân the meeting of the two armies took place. The King gained the victory; and from

persons who were present on the field of battle I have heard, that nine thousand of the Turks were killed in the action; and that a rich booty fell into the hands of the Kizil Bâsh. In truth it was a signal triumph; and as the Turks who were in the Castle of Iravân had endeavoured to fortify themselves in that place, the King applied his efforts to besiege it.

In consequence of these events great agitation prevailed throughout the Turkish empire, and the princes of the Othman government having concerted measures dispatched Ahmed Pasha of Bagdad with a copious army in the direction of Irâk, that by this means the King and the forces of the Kizil Bâsh might be induced to abandon the siege of Iravân. And so it happened; for when the news reached the King of the arrival of the Turkish army in Irâk, which province at that time was unprovided with any governor possessing power and bravery, he retired from the siege of Iravân, thinking the repulsion of that army to be an affair of more importance, and directed his march to Irâk. The hostile parties met in the environs of Hamadân, and halted near to each other. Ahmed Pasha, the aforesaid, practising deceit, repeatedly sent messages of peace and put forth frequent entreaties to lay aside contention and enmity, so that the army of the Kizil Bâsh soon became neglectful of their warlike preparations.

And still the negotiations for peace continued; but as the two quarrelsome armies were stationed very close to each other, and as it were hand to collar, a number of the most eager to fight entered the field on both sides, and engaged a combat with each other. To hinder hostilities on either party now became difficult, and suddenly a general action took place. The Turks having made an entry into a ruined fort, which stood close to the lines of the Kizil Bâsh, strengthened their position, and opened a fire of musquetry. The lines of the Kizil B began to disappear, and in an hour's time were entirely dispersed. An universal flight ensued, and however much the King exerted himself to arrest it, his efforts were unavailing. Some of his Omarâs, hanging by the reins of his horse, at length conducted him out of the field. The Turks on their side proceeded on no further, but returning to Bagdad in perfect satisfaction with the victory they had gained, they sent some persons acquainted with the language to the King, to sue for peace and to arrange the terms of an amicable adjustment, making many apologies for their former conduct. The King on his part gave his consent, and a peace was concluded between the two nations. The King returned to Isphahan, and on the very same day that I was about to go on board a ship at Bender Abbâsi, and to set sail on my journey to Hijâz, a letter came to me from

the King with others from a number of my friends in the camp, conveying to me the true statement of these occurrences.

Having embarked I sailed to Bender Sôrat, where I staid near two months, and then departed for the place of my destination. The Europeans during the voyage were very respectful and attentive in their kind services towards me, until I arrived at the port of Jidda, where the near attainment of the wished for happiness quickly made me forget the endless disquietudes of a sea-voyage. From that place I afterwards accomplished my pilgrimage to the venerable House of God and to Mount Minâ, and by the grace and guidance of the Lord of Glory obtained the desire I had so long been cherishing. In Mecca the Revered, by reason of an intimation made to me in a dream, I wrote a treatise on The Imâmat,[1] and was inclined to remain in that holy spot. But on several accounts it was impossible, and in the month Moharram, one thousand one hundred and forty-five (latter end of June, 1732) joining a caravan of pilgrims bound to Lahsâ, I traversed the desert in the heat of summer and arrived at that town.

[1] To prove that the dignity of Imâm, or spiritual and temporal chief of the Mohammedans, as the true and lawful successor of Mahomet, belonged to Mahomet's cousin and son-in-law, Ali son of Abo Tâlib.

From that country I sailed to the island of Bahrein, and thence to Bender Abbâsi.

Here I found that the affairs of Irân were again thrown into confusion, the change of its Sovereign having occurred in the beginning of the year. The summary of that transaction is as follows: Tahmâsb Colî Khân was occupied in the siege of Herât, when the King fought the battle of Hamadân and afterwards made peace with the Turks. The Great Khân, attributing this business to want of prudent conduct, disapproved of the treaty; and after eight months storming and blockade having forced his entrance into Herât and subdued and slaughtered the Abdâli Afghans, and on the few who escaped the sword having imposed the obligation of perpetual service in the army, he returned to the Holy Meshed. There he summoned to him some of the nearest attendants and most confidential ministers of the King, and having gained their acquiescence to his opinion of affairs, and fixed his design of attacking Ahmed Pasha and making the conquest of Bagdad, he said: "I shall first wait on the King, and having taken leave of him I will then go to Bagdad." The courtiers having repaired to the King, who judging by appearances was suspicious of the Khan's design to declare himself independent, tranquillized his mind by the demonstration of his devotedness and sincere affection, and the Great

Khan, arriving in Isphahan with a copious army, waited on the Shah and spoke of the permission which he was desirous of to march against the Turks. Being empowered to conduct the expedition he was preparing to set his troops in motion, when, one day, the courtiers promoted a wish that the King should go to the apartments of the Khan, which were in one of the royal gardens; and the King, in consequence, mounted his horse privately, and rode to the garden. The Khan advanced to meet him on foot, paid to him his dutiful obeisances, and having spread the carpet of convivial entertainment, intreated him to remain there that day. When the King had abandoned himself to sleep, the Khan sent for some of the chiefs of his army and made a speech to them on the exercise of the sovereign power. "In the present circumstances," said he, "the advisable measure is, that, on account of the weakness of his fortunes, the King should withdraw some time from sovereign power into retirement. We will then raise his son to the sovereignty, and dispatch our business with the Turks." As this purpose had been previously concerted, they gave their approval on their part, and informed the King of the issue of their deliberations. Unable to help himself he submitted to his fate, and his son, an infant but two months old, was carried into the royal tribunal, the prone was said and the coin struck in his name, and he was styled by the title of Shah

Abbás. Having sent away Shah Tahmásb under a strong guard into Khorásán, the Khan, who had himself previously married one of the royal females, then gave another of them in marriage to his eldest son: and whatever was stored up in the treasuries and magazines belonging to the King now fell into the possession of the Great Khán. He next appointed governors of his own over the whole kingdom of Irán, and having assigned some attendants to the above-mentioned Shah Abbás he sent him to Cazvín. A body of the Bakhtiári tribe revolting at this transaction made a disturbance and murdered their new governor. To chide their petulance the Khan marched from Isphahan, and after a fierce altercation reduced them to submission.

Having set out on his march to Bagdad, the Great Khan fought a battle on the road with an army of Turks, and proving victorious drove the enemy before him to that city. Ahmed Pasha, governor of that court of peace, marched out with an immense army, and ventured an engagement. Being routed he fled to the citadel. The Great Khan boldly advanced to the siege of that place, and having thrown a strong bridge of boats over the Tigris and occupied both sides of the bank and citadel, he applied himself to the close blockade of the besieged. The appurtenances and dependencies of Bagdad were all gained possession of by the Kizl Bish, and were subjected t

contingent hardships. Ahmed Pasha certainly shewed great valour and firmness in the maintenance of the citadel; but as he had no means of escape and founded no security on a surrender to the Kizil Bâsh, his only alternative was in an obstinate resistance; so that being encompassed by an overflowing army during a siege of protracted length, that immense city fell a prey to famine, and the inhabitants fed on almost every kind of animal, whether eatable or uneatable, even dogs and cats; and the condition of the besieged became one of the severest hardship.

Having described a portion of these occurrences, I will now revert to the history of my own adventures.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Continuation of the Author's adventures.—He removes from Bender Abbâsi and arrives at the town of Lâr.—Cruelty of the governor and officers of the revenue in that country.—Command of Mohammed Khan of the Balôch tribe in the province of Fârs.

WHEN I arrived at Bender Abbâsi I found that in consequence of the severe distresses I had undergone in my journey to Hijâz, and of the numerous debts which had fallen on my shoulders, it was entirely out of my power to stir from that place. During the two months that I remained in that port I employed all the means I could to release my obligations, and settled to the best of my power the distracted affairs of myself and dependents. At that period, by reason of the revolution in the government, the change in the laws and regulations of the empire, and the heavy and excessive taxes laid on every class of the people, the province of Lâristân was in a disturbed

condition, and utter confusion reigned. The inhabitants, who had been afflicted by all kinds of accidents and misfortunes, and for so many years had been trampled on by such a cruel enemy as the Afghans, were now in bad circumstances of life, and possessed no power or ability for the further endurance of financial burthens, oppression, and tyranny. Yet the commissioners of the Divân and the tax-gatherers, under different pretexts, advanced in the imposition and collection of various sums of money, and the excuses and supplications and prayers of none were listened to. And as each person fell back on his own estate and means, and no protection or help was found in common, the consequence was that a strange condition of things appeared. For myself, my nature is so framed that I cannot countenance any folly or iniquity, and for cruelty and oppression have no endurance. To succour the afflicted, to relieve the oppressed, and to protect the weak I am irresistibly impelled, and should I be unequal to the performance, rest to me is impossible and life a prohibition. Amidst this disorder the miserable wretches were driven to implore my help; but no remedy was to be found, and the Great Knower of Secrets is alone acquainted with what passed over me. To the men in office I perseveringly used both sternness and asperity, both raillery and reproaches for the protection of the helpless; but my efforts were vain, as the very

basis of their operations was unrelenting exaction, which was designed to know neither end nor bounds.

Leaving Bender Abbâsi I directed my travels to Isphahan, and at every fort or village that I came to, the inhabitants gathered round me and vented their complaints and lamentations. As I was known over the whole of that country, there was not a single place where the people were not able to recognize me, so that it was impossible for me to hold back in concealment. At length I came to the town of Lâr. It was now the depth of winter and the rainy season, and I was overcome with weakness and infirmity and in no condition to perform a journey, particularly through a cold country.[1] I halted therefore some days. The circumstances of this ruined city were in the lowest destitution. The former governor had been seized for concussion in his office, and the new governor had brought with him four hundred troopers, besides a crowd of other servants and dependents; and what was extraordinary was, that by the regulation then established they were to take their daily expenses day by day from the town's people, at the same time that on account of the desertion and unsafety of the roads no goods

[1] The road from Lâr to Shirâz passes over mountainous chains of country which for a great part of the winter months are covered with snow.

of any kind were brought to the city, and not only did the prices of food rise, but scarcely a sufficient quantity of provisions was to be found. Yet, towards a multitude of the helpless wretches, who having survived all the preceding calamities were dragging on their existence in absolute misery, the governor and his troopers used the greatest severity in the exaction of their daily wants. Another chief officer also came for the purpose of taking the number of the palm-trees in the country, and seeking to double the amount of the customary duties, employed his utmost diligence to that effect. On trees likewise of every other kind he invented a tax which had never had existence in that province, and having established for himself a court in his own peculiarity, he fell like a hurricane on the heads of the people. Moreover, from all the districts within their reach, by appointing to each of them rigorous collectors, they gathered in the taxes and contributions of the forthcoming year also; and from every peasant's family they required one trooper, furnished with arms and accoutrements, who was to attend the governor's stirrup, and to serve the whole time he should be wanted without pay or allowance. As many as one thousand men had been brought together after this fashion out of those districts; and three thousand more were demanded, but could not be found. To the wretched peasant who had neither clothing, nor arms, nor ammu-

nition for service, who on his own strip of soil, in misery and hired slavery, was compelled to seek food for himself and family, how could such a journey be practicable? The heads of the villages, in consequence, were exposed to chastisement and reproaches on the one side, and to the charge of tyranny and insolence on the other. With all this they wanted also ammunition and large supplies of provisions for storing.

And this line of conduct was exclusively pursued towards the Shia peasantry of Lâr, who were in obedience to the government; for some parts of the province, which are of the Shafaïa sect, and during the Afghan usurpation had enjoyed perfect tranquillity, were not up to this time yet returned to their submission towards the governor, and being strongly established in their habitations they kept themselves aloof from these heavy impositions. But the Great Khân, having given the command of the province of Fârs to *Mohammed Khan* of the Balôch Tribe, had issued his orders to him to rouse them from their slumbers; and he in conjunction with the governor of Shiraz, and with an immense assemblage of followers, set out on his march in that direction. The wretched peasants, wherever he appeared, fled in terror from the manifold oppression and violence of his troops; and he soon arrived before the town of Jahrom.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Abd Al Ghani Khan governor of Jahrom is besieged and made war on by the Commander-in-Chief of Fars.—Assassination of the governor of Lâr, and disturbance in that country.—Arrival in Lâr of the Commander-in-Chief Mohammed Khan; his war upon the inhabitants and their defence.—Mohammed Khan exhausted in strength retires from Lâr.—The inhabitants of Lâr withdraw from the city.

Abd Al Ghani Khan, governor of that town, who was a good man and one of my friends, who during that long period by superior management and bravery had preserved the place from the malignity of the Afghans and maintained its population in wealth and prosperity, however much he wished, after he had served these troops with all the warlike apparatus that lay within his power, to make them pass on from those borders, was unable to persuade them; and carrying their demands beyond the possibility of being satisfied, they opened wide the hand of violence. Abd Al Ghani Khan, who possessed all the qualities of justice, moderation, and bravery, had no alternative but to fortify the ramparts of the town and to apply himself with the military he held under his

command to the defence and guard of the place. Fierce hostility arose in consequence between the two parties, and the Commander-in-chief bound up his loins to the blockade and extirpation of the governor, who with all his soothing messages of civility and of a return to concord, could produce on him no effect.

Amidst these circumstances, the inhabitants of Lâr, whose temperament is not void of intrepidity and courage, found themselves destitute of all means of remedying their condition, were reduced to straits by the conduct of the governor and revenue officers, and felt moreover the greatest horror at the approach of the Commander-in-chief and at the cruel oppression of his army. The governor of Lâr, on his side, was uneasy and filled with dread of them, on account of his own intolerable conduct, and having assembled together his troops and dependents and given them a place in his own palace, he maintained the most vigilant watch and ward; inattentive to the poet's warning, that

Arabic Verse.[1]

Victory is not by troops collected in array,
But it is by the blessings of virtue and fortune, and the assistance of the Almighty.

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[1] أَلنَّصْرُ لَيْسَتْ بِأَجْنَادٍ مُجَنَّدَةٍ
لَكِنَّهُ بِسَعَادَاتٍ وَتَوْفِيقِ

It happened one day that the governor fell into a passion on some pretence with the mayor of the city, and having ordered him to be dragged out and thrown on the ground, he caused him to be severely bastinadoed; after which he cast him into prison. To some of the Ayâns, who had presented themselves to pay him their respects, he used the most opprobrious threats; and they, with the citizens and dependents of the mayor, came to me, and began to vent their lamentations and to shew the most violent emotions. All my endeavours, however strenuous, to console them and to persuade them to forbearance and patient endurance, were of no avail. Despairing of the life of the mayor, who was imprisoned in the governor's house, they could not repress their uneasiness and terror. I recommended to the governor to set the mayor at liberty; but he made excuses for not complying; and the grandees of the city repeatedly went to him, and displaying their innocence and helplessness laboured for the release of their magistrate; but in vain.

The governor came one day to my house. I held much discourse to him in a tendency to peace and concord, and having pointed out to him the line of conduct which in his circumstances was most advisable, and led him to understand that the imprisonment of the mayor was the motive of the sedition, and the cause of all the tumult, I prevailed on him to release him from confinement; but it was

on condition, that he should quit the country, and set out on his way to Hijâz. This proposal being assented to, the mayor was bent upon retiring. When two days were gone by, the governor repented and shewed a desire to seize him again. The people of the town, taking the alarm, sat together in council during the night, and made up their minds to rid themselves of the governor. At day-break, accompanied by the mayor, they poured all together into the governor's house, and raising shouts with a loud report of musquetry killed the governor and some of his attendants. His troopers hid themselves as each was able in some corner, and a body of them sought refuge in my apartments. As soon as the business of the governor was dispatched, the mayor and others with all that crowd and invasion of the populace came to me, and desired to avenge themselves of the troopers, from whom they had experienced much oppression. But I insisted on protecting them, and both the mayor and the populace yielding to decency and compelling themselves to the observance of civility and good manners, desisted from molesting them. The very same day, making my excuses for the haste, I conducted them on their retreat with their horses and luggage in safety out of the city; and to the mayor and Ayans I made many reproaches for venturing on such an act at a time when they had no preparation or means to carry it to a conclusion; when it would

probably be the cause of their extirpation and ruin in a mass. But it had been so ruled by providence, and was a thing past controul.

The deposed governor who was an old friend of mine, obtaining his release from the accusation against him of rapine and concussion, withdrew from the city with all his people. The guards of the citadel of Lâr, with an hypocritical affectation, refusing to go hand in hand with the rest of the citizens, settled themselves in the fort; and in the space of a few days a most extraordinary mutiny and disturbance prevailed in that town. Several persons, who had ancient enmities against each other, were killed on both sides, and it came very near to such a pass, that tyrannical power and usurpation were to be exercised indiscriminately. By discreet management I allayed the fire of this sedition, and encountered difficulties and distresses during this novel state of things which it is impossible for me to describe. However much I endeavoured to retire from amongst them, my efforts were ineffectual, as they all united in detaining me by their prayers and importunities. The best of all was that on every side a report had been spread, that their proceedings in this affair were by my direction. As one thousand persons amongst them were inhabitants of the surrounding villages and districts, whom the governor had forcibly collected together, the

greatest part of that body now took their own lead and returned to their several habitations.

When the Commander-in-chief, who was besieging Jahrom, became aequainted with these circumstances, he left the governor of Shiraz with a corps of his army to the siege and blockade of that town, and marched away himself with an immense body of troops in the greatest haste for Lâr. As soon as he arrived in the neighbourhood of that city, the whole population flocked together into one of the districts of the town, and applied their minds to the management of their affairs. The Commander-in-chief having stationed his troops within the walls, prepared himself to slaughter and pillage the citizens, and made an attack from all sides on the district where they were collected. The citizens, on their part, strove in their own defence and endeavoured to repel him with all their might; and the war was protracted for a whole week. When he saw that it would be difficult for him to make the speedy conquest of that district, at the same time that the important affair of Jahrom was still on his hands, he reluctantly made advances of lenity and affability, and after some parley it was settled, that leaving a lieutenant in the castle of Lâr he should retire, and that after some days, when the citizens had regained their tranquillity, each of them should return to his house, and the lieute-

nant also, removing from the castle to the city, should take up his residence in the government palace. The Commander-in-chief performed his part of this agreement, and the mayor, having made him a trifling present, returned to his people. The lieutenant, being with his body of troops in the fort, used all his instances that the people should come forth from their fortified district; but neither had he any trust in them, nor they in him. At length it so fell out, that the Ayâns and for the most part the populace, abandoning the city, withdrew in a mass, and in extreme vigilance and circumspection with their domestics and children, their arms and ammunition, repaired to inhabit their villages and the surrounding country.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Arrival of the Author at Bender Abbâsi.—Sea voyage from Bender Abbâsi to the coast of Ommân.—He goes to Mascat, and thence returns to Bender Abbâsi.—Removes to the country of Jarôn; and thence to the province of Kermân.—Rebellion of Mohammed Khân.

I ALSO retired with them, until they halted in two villages, in which they held lands and tenements, when I chose to separate from them, and after some time arrived at Bender Abbâsi. Here I staid some days; but, being distressed at the sight of the circumstances and situation of the inhabitants, I lost all patience. Every person's tongue, in consequence of the impositions and tyranny of the courts of government, was constantly employed in uttering this sentiment:

Arabic Poetry.[1]

He may be cured with water, who is choked with a bit of meat;

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[1] يُدَاوَى بِمَاءٍ مَنْ يَغَصُّ بِلُقْمَةٍ

But how shall I be relieved, when it is with water that I am stifled?

My mind was bent on the purpose of bidding adieu to Persia, and of leaving these shores for Basra, whence I would use every possible means of transporting myself to Najaf Ashraf. But as the Great Khan held Bagdad in blockade, and the whole of Arabian Irâk was thrown into confusion by the conflicts of the army of the Kizil Bâsh, and was tossed in the storm of casualties, the people of Basra also were distracted with fear, and most of them were fleeing to the sea; and a terror like that of the day of judgement having fallen on the city, no kind of rectitude or order any longer existed; so that however strenuously I exerted myself to obtain a ship from the people of the coast that I might sail for Basra, it was impossible to succeed. They all excused themselves by telling me, that the people of Basra would seize their vessel to make use of it for their own flight. Having no power therefore to carry my design

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وَكَيْفَ أُدَاوِي إِنْ شَرِقْتُ بِمَاءِ

The usual application of these verses is to the lover choked with tears at the cruelty of his mistress: here the allusion is to the more oppressive treatment of the Persian peasantry by their own countrymen, than that which they had experienced at the hands of their bitterest enemies the Afghâns.

into execution, I was reduced to the alternative of embarking on board a vessel belonging to the European Company of Dutchmen, and sailed for the coast of Ommân. Having landed at a town in that country, which is situated on the sea-shore and is called *Sahâr*, I made a stay there of near two months; but from the great inconveniences and troubles with which my heart was distressed it was impossible for me to remain settled, and obtaining a vessel from the tribe Raâb of the wild Arabs inhabiting those parts, I embarked and sailed for the city of Mąscat, where I staid above two months. The filthy state of that country, its severe heat, and the unpleasantness of its air and water made me ill and weak.

Lines.[1]

How happens it, Lord! that my pain finds not a moment's rest;
That my head turns round from weakness, and finds no pillow?

In short, sick and infirm as I was, I embarked on my return to Bender Abbâsi; but as it was the heat of summer, and as the air of that port also is disagreeable in the extreme, I had a most violent

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[1] چه شد یا رب که یکدم درد من تسکین نمي یابد
ز بیتابي سرم میکردد و بالین نمي یابد

attack of a quartan ague in addition, and fresh maladies made inroads on my constitution. On several accounts therefore I could not endure to remain there, and was forced to seat myself in a litter and remove to a place called *Jarón*, which is one of the dependencies of that port, and has streams of running water. In the villages of that district I passed some time. My illness was still severe; and from the numberless inconveniences which I suffered, the contemplation of the circumstances of the wretched inhabitants, and the importunate prayers and intreaties which they addressed to me, my situation became uncomfortable to my mind and feelings, and no possibility remained of patiently enduring it any longer. I had indeed no way to retire out of that province; but it came to my thoughts, that a part of the kingdom of Irân which I had not seen was Kermân, and that at present scarcely any person survived of the inhabitants of that country who were my friends and acquaintances: if I should change my dress, and repairing to that city or to the villages in the neighbourhood, choose a corner for retirement, I might perchance pass a few days to my satisfaction. With this idea I made a change in my clothes and outward appearance, and with one or two of my servants set out for Kermân. At that time through the prevalence of my maladies and infirmities I had

no longer the strength to bear retirement in an unhabited place, so that having spent a few days in a small village I at last came to the city of Kermân, and seating myself in a solitary corner held no conversation with any one. By little and little some persons became intimate with me, and a great number who had formerly known me, saw and recognized me, until my residence in that city remained no longer a secret. In short, having staid there some months, and the affairs of that ruined country being in utter confusion by reason of the insurrection of a body of the Balôch tribe and other accidents, I determined on departing towards the Holy Meshed; but as winter was come on, and the road to Khoraṣan lies over a very cold country, and as the violence of my quartan ague kept me extremely infirm and weak, the people interfered to prevent me.

At this period, Mohammed Khan Balôch, commander-in-chief in Fârs, having disagreed with the Great Khan Tahmâsb Coli Khan, had, through fear of his life, wrested his head from the rein of obedience, and drawn the line of self appropriation over the province of Fars. He had thrown into prison all the commissioners of the Great Khan, and set up a profession of servitude and fealty to Shah Tahmâsb. Although he was not destitute of bravery, he was withal light headed and had no talent for governing. As the people

were afflicted with tyranny, and were naturally attached to the exalted Safavean family,[1] and as he boasted of his devotion to that house, they inclined to his party, and he had an immense army.

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[1] The reason of the strong attachment of the Persian nation to this family, notwithstanding the odious conduct of nearly all the monarchs of the Safavean race, is to be found in their enthusiastic veneration of Ali, son-in-law and cousin of the Prophet, from whom the Safaveans deduced their origin, through Mòsa Kâdzim, the seventh Imâm. To Shâh Ismaîl, the first sovereign of the family, the Persians were indebted for the establishment of their distinct national religion, by which their independence was secured, and all pretence for foreign interference, on the part of the Othman princes, who claim spiritual authority over the Sonnis of every country and climate, for ever checked.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Commandership of Tôpâl Pasha, and arrival of the Turkish Army in Irâk Arab.—Battle between the Great Khân and Tôpâl Pasha the Turkish Commander.—Victory of Tôpâl Pasha, and his halt in Kerkôyah.—Arrival of some Turkish troops on the confines of Kordistân.—Engagement of the Great Khan with the Turkish troops, and his triumph over them.—Battle with Tôpâl Pasha, who is slain.—The body of Tôpâl Pasha is sent to the Mosque of Abo Hanifa.—Bagdad is besieged a second time.

I WAS in Kermân, when the news was spread abroad of the defeat of the Great Khan by the Turkish army, the main particulars of which are these.

The siege of Bagdad had been carried on for near a term of twelve months, and however much Ahmed Pasha desired to induce the Great Khan to an accommodation, his endeavours were unsuccessful. The grandees of the Othman empire sought a remedy, and considered how they should repair this untoward circumstance. Among their principal Omarâs was one named Tôpâl Pasha, who for years had commanded their troops

on their European frontier, and in the battles which he had fought with the Franks had gained a high reputation for bravery and skilfulness. Him they appointed commander in the Arabian Irâk, and dispatched him with a numerous army to make war on the Great Khan. As soon as advice arrived of his near approach to Bagdad, the Great Khan, leaving a body of his troops to guard the environs of the castle of Bagdad, marched himself with the army of the Kizil Bâsh to his encounter, and in his haste to meet the Turks checked not his reins for the distance of thirty farsangs. The Turkish general had divided his army into two parts, and marched in the rear. His van, having halted on the banks of a rivulet, fortified in proper order their park of artillery, and being aware of the near approach of the Kizil Bâsh prepared themselves for battle. The Great Khan came up with them in the early part of the morning and instantly began the action. About an hour afterwards, the Turkish general arrived with the remainder of the army and his train in perfect order, marshalled into lines with the artillery drawn close around; and the engagement was enforced with the utmost violence. In that sandy desert no water was near except the stream which the Turks had taken possession of. In short, till noon-day the fire of slaughter flamed, and the scene of action was crowded. Afterwards, from the heat of the sun

and the prevalence of thirst, the infantry and artillery-men of the army of the Kizil Bâsh were unable to move. The Great Khan ordered wells to be dug. But at that season it was necessary to penetrate a great depth to find water. The condition of the soldier was overcome with weakness, and the Turks making a powerful charge, overturned numbers of the riders and horses of the Kizil Bâsh to roll in the dust; and among them the horse of the Great Khan was one. At length, the troops having no longer any strength to stand their ground, turned their backs and fled on the road to Persian Irâk. To the detachment who had remained at Bagdad to maintain the siege of that place they sent a messenger to call them away; and these also retiring in the night departed for Persian Irâk.

Ahmed Pasha, now relieved from the blockade, began to employ himself in carrying supplies into the fort and storing his magazines. The general marched on to the environs of Bagdad; but unable to find a sufficiency of provisions in those parts for the support of his immense army, he turned aside in the direction of Kerkôyah and there halted. From this place he sent a detachment of his troops with some of the most respectable pashas by the road of Kordistân into Persian Irâk, to inform themselves of the state of things and to act as should be advisable at that juncture.

The Great Khan, checking the dispersion of his

routed army, came to Hamadân. This was in the middle of the year one thousand one hundred and forty-six (A. D. 1733). In that city he had a treasure and stores previously collected; and applying himself to the distribution of largesses and favours among his troops and to the task of repairing their condition, at the same time that he brought up a body of men whom he constantly maintained in those parts, in the space of a month he had a fresh army completely accoutred, and being informed of the situation of the Turkish detachment just mentioned, he hastened from Hamadan to assault it. Falling like a sudden calamity on that troop of Turks he vigorously attacked them. The Turkish lines were soon broken by the onsets of the army of the Kizil Bâsh, and the commanders having been slain with a great number of their men, the rest left their artillery and baggage on the spot and betook themselves to flight.

The Great Khan drove forward towards Kerkôyah, and Tôpâl Pasha the Turkish commander marched out from that city with an innumerable army in order of battle. After much fighting the Great Khan gained a complete victory, and a vast crowd of the Turkish armament fell slaughtered on the ground. One of the pioneers of the Kizil Bâsh cut off the head of Tôpâl Pasha and brought it to the Khan, by whose order the body also was found, and both being sewed to-

gether were sent with one of the captive Efendis to Bagdad, where they were buried in the cemetery of Abo Hanîfa.[1] The Turks who escaped the sword, fled away in the most wretched plight; and the Great Khan having exercised all the severities of war in those countries, returned to Bagdad and again laid siege to that city.

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[1] This celebrated doctor, regarded as their principal Chief by the Sonnîs in the decision of questions of law and divinity, is said to have united great piety and austerity with an excellent understanding and most profound knowledge. By the Shias he is as much detested and censured, as by their antagonists he is admired and exalted. For allowing his disciples to drink *nebid*, which is a wine made from dates, he is accused by the Persians of departing from the clear injunction of the Prophet against all intoxicating beverages. His indulgent interpretation of the Coran, in this respect, has certainly led to much abuse; for in the greatest part of the eastern countries every kind of wine is freely drunk under the name of *Nebíd*, when, under its general denomination of *Khamr*, it would oftentimes be regarded with the utmost abhorrence.

CHAPTER XL.

The Author removes from Kermân to Bender Abbâsi.—Abandonment of the siege of Bagdad and march to the repulsion of Mohammed Khan.—Executions at Shoshter and devastation of that city.—War with Mohammed Khan.—Flight of Mohammed Khan towards the country of Lâr.

I WAS in Kerman when the defeat of the army of the Kizil Bâsh and the return of the Great Khan from Bagdad took place. It occurred to me that at this juncture it might be easy to reach Basra and Najaf Ashraf from the ports of Fars. With this idea I set off for Bender Abbâsi. On the road I suffered great distress from my infirmity and from the violent fits of the quartan ague with which it was now sixteen months since I had been first attacked. At length I arrived at the Port, and finding that the voyage by sea to Basra was not yet practicable I there remained. A short time afterwards, the news came of the arrival of the Great Khan a second time before

Bagdad and of the blockade of its inhabi
and put a stop to the attainment of my objec

Mohammed Khan Balôch held sway ov
province of Fârs, and had secretly spread a report of his intention to make the conquest of Isphâhân and of Irâk, and to release Shah Tahmâsb from confinement. The commissioners of the Great Khan who were established in Isphâhân and the surrounding districts, becoming alarmed at their inability to make resistance, represented his rebellion in the most exaggerated terms to the Great Khan, and described the danger of revolution as very great. The Khan had brought the affair of Bagdad near to a conclusion, and boundless fear had taken possession of Ahmed Pasha and the besieged, who had absolutely no longer any pretence or means to hold the fort: and about that time it would have been subdued, but for the events in Fars and Irâk, which disturbed the Khan's mind. Thinking it no longer advisable to stay in those parts, he proposed articles of peace to Ahmed Pasha, and certain terms were agreed on, which the Pasha had never hoped to obtain, and now regarded as the greatest blessing.

The Khan, determined to repress the rebellion of Mohammed Khan, moved from Bagdad with the quickness of lightning and the swiftness of the wind, and arrived at the town of Shôshter. The inhabitants of that place were publicly known to have

ven in their submission to Mohammed Khan, and vere suspected to favour all his projects; and now after the execution of Abo El Fatah Khan, governor of that country, a great number of the Ayâns and the commonalty of the town were beheaded with the sword of chastisement; and it would be impossible to relate what contempt and disgrace, rapine and plunder, murder and captivity fell upon the inhabitants of that country.

The Great Khan dispatched a division of his army on the side of Fars, and followed also himself in the rear. Mohammed Khan on his part set out from Shiraz with what troops he had, in the intention to give him battle; and the meeting took place on the territory of Kohkiloyah. Mohammed Khan bravely stood his ground, and after some severe engagements he was near proving himself victorious. At that moment the report was spread of the approach of the Great Khan, who was coming up behind the van of his army. On this the soldiers of Fârs were frightened out of their minds, and as night was come on, the greatest part of them, concealing their shame behind the curtain of darkness, quitted their banners and dispersed. At day-break scarcely any one remained with Mohammed Khan; only just round his tent were left a few of his own tribe and his relatives and servants, who did not amount to three thousand persons. Mo-

hammed Khan had no alternative but to retire from the field, and being come in all haste to Lâr,[1] he there left one of his tribe with a body of troops as governor, and turned his endeavours to collect together an army among the inhabitants of the warm countries, that he might again prepare himself for the combat.

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[1] The capital of Lâristân, once a magnificent city, stands at the foot of a range of hills in a large plain, covered with palm-trees. It has many handsome edifices; and its bàzâr is said to be the noblest structure of the kind in Persia. The residence of the Governor is in the midst of the city, and is surrounded by a strong wall, flanked with towers. The castle is situated on the summit of a hill, immediately behind the town.

The province is the poorest in Persia and so destitute of wholesome water, that were it not for the periodical rains, which fill the cisterns provided by the inhabitants, and enable them to cultivate a small quantity of wheat and barley, it would be quite uninhabitable. See Kinneir's Geographical Memoir of the Persian Empire.

CHAPTER XLI.

Departure of the Author from Persia, and his sea-voyage from Bender Abbâsi to Tatah.—He goes from Tatah to Khodâ Abâd.—Arrives at Bhakorr.—Goes to Moltân, and resides there.—His apology for writing these pages.—Incident of the plague spreading in Moltân.—The Author removes from Moltân and comes to Lâhôr.—Removes from Lâhôr and arrives at Shahjehân Abâd.—Retreats to Lâhôr.

In Bender Abbâsi were some revenue officers of the Great Khân, and at that time some also came from Mohammed Khan; and each party exercised both insolence and oppression. One day a severe act of tyranny was practised on some of the wretched inhabitants, and my distressed heart lost all patience at the sight of it. I was unable to remain quiet, and determined to quit the country. At that very time there was a vessel bound for the coast of Sind, and my resolution was fixed to go in it. This was the tenth day of Ramadzân the blessed, one thousand one

hundred and forty-six. A captain of the Engl European Company, being informed of my in tention, came to my lodging, and began to di suade me from going to India. He enumerate some of the deformities in the qualities of the empire, and endeavoured to prevail upon me t go to Europe. Though he importuned me very much on this subject, I would not consent; and on that very day leaving everything with an adieu behind me, I went alone on board the ship and sailed for Sind, or India, where I landed in one of the harbours of *Tatah*.

It was the beginning of the month Shavvâl when I arrived in that town. I did not wish that any person should know me in that country. But it was almost impossible for it to be so; and the very same day that I arrived at Tatah, a company of merchants of that town, who had seen me in Fars, became informed of my visit. A number of Persians also were residing there, most of whom were among my acquaintance. In short, this idea of remaining incognito was not realized in any city of that empire. Had it been possible, it would have been the means of removing much of my inconveniences and afflictions, and many of my innumerable griefs; and to the degree that I am, should not be distressed with various anxiety an anguish, and with the feeling of utter helple ness. For in reality the hardship and pain being alone and without friends have always b

companions and engrossers of my time from the day of my arrival here until the moment of writing this, which is the latter end of the year one thousand one hundred and fifty-four (A. D. 1742); yet in consequence of my celebrity, my body and soul have been worn out with the occasional visits and hourly conversations of the various classes of worldly persons, who have become frequenters of my house. To explain the nature of their character and business and the multiplied features of their occasions and arguments would not be worth the labour. To me, who do not reckon the time of my residence in this country as a portion of my real life, the beginning of my arrival on the shores of this empire appears as it were the end of my age and vitality. During this period of eight years I have seen the whole country from Tatah to the town of Dehli, known also by the name of Shâh Jehân Abâd; and whatever I had heard or found in books of the qualities, circumstances, and situations of this empire and its inhabitants, all has passed under my view; and I have moreover witnessed and been made acquainted with that which I had not heard, and which had never occurred to my mind or imagination.

After a residence of more than two months in Tatah I reproached myself with my want of science, and for my departure out of Persia, and repented of not choosing to travel to the kingdoms

of Europe. But now the season of sea-voyages was past, and summer was come on; and to turn back to Persia or any other place it was necessary to wait for the next season. However in that town, from its want of water, its bad atmosphere, and the ugliness of its situation, qualities that form the common appearance of this whole empire, I found it impossible to rest. The people told me, 'You must go to the city of Khodâ Abâd, which is one of the most populous of India, and is but a few days' journey hence. Much preparation is not required. You can go in a boat by the channel of the river which is made navigable from the neighbourhood of Tatah to the ridge of that city.' And so it was decreed that I should act.

Having embarked in a boat I arrived at *Khodâ Abâd*. Here from the violence of the heat and the unpleasantness of the air, the attacks of sorrow and my struggles with hardship and adversity, I was seized with a variety of severe diseases, and for the space of seven months I lay ill and abandoned to destitution of every friend. When some of my disorders abated, and I found it impossible for diverse reasons to remain any longer in that place, a strange perplexity presented itself to my mind.

Finally, by the imperious decree of fate, I again embarked in a passage-boat and arrived in the city of *Bhakorr*, which is distant only a few days' journey on the bank of the same river Sind, or Indus. Altogether my nature had no agreement

with the fashions and manners of this country, nor any power of patiently enduring them; and my friendlessness, want of means, and deficiency of ability were an additional source of desolation and grief. After a stay here of near a month, weakness and an alteration in my bodily constitution reduced me to an extreme, and having no other alternative I took my seat in a litter and departed in the direction of Moltân. Having performed the stages of that journey with excessive trouble, I arrived at a village near to the fortifications of that city and there halted.

The sight of these dominions became more and more hateful to me, and being continually in hope of my escape from them, I reconciled my mind to the incidents in the affairs of Persia, and bent my thoughts on my return thither. Its possibility however was not realized, and the length of my residence in this village, in solitude and want, approached to a term of two years, during which, amidst the anguish of my sufferings and the sourness of my humours, I sometimes employed myself in writing. To my scared wits and scattered senses this was the burthen I gave my song:

Lines.[1]

Musician, strike up a tune, and Cup-bearer, give wine;

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[1] مطرب ساع بر کش و ساقي شراب دہ

To Fortune give a fillip, and to the Sphere a repulsive answer.

During that residence I also composed a Treatise, called Kando 'L Marâm, on the Explanation of Fate and Destiny and the Creation of Acts, with some other treatises.

And let it not be concealed, that the incidents and circumstances of the days of my stay in this country come not within the possibility of detail, and I should be ashamed to apply myself to the mention of even a summary of them, for they are absolutely unfit to be exposed and narrated; and were I to turn the reins of my pen to the description of the remaining adventures of my own life, I should inevitably be led to depict some of the crimes and shameful things in the circumstances and qualities of this country, traced as it is with foulness, and trained to turpitude and brutality; and I should grieve for my pen and paper. It is better that my readers should be left to picture to themselves the end and termination of my life, after the manner that I have described the beginning of my arrival in these regions.

ایّامرا بیال و فلکرا جواب دہ

I have merely conjectured a meaning for the word بیال having been unable to find it in any dictionary. It would have been better perhaps to have decided on reading بال

This also should not remain concealed, that the whole affair of writing these pages, and my application to the task of drawing up an abstract of these adventures, was not the habit of my pen, nor the addiction of my mind; nor was it proper to my times, nor desired of my heart, nor familiar to my humble nature; but on the contrary my thought and opinion were strange to this propensity, and so cautious of it, that it never entered my mind. For, not to consider the unsuitableness of tale-telling with my circumstances and with the dignity and rank which I am bound to maintain, nor the smallness of the profit to be gained by descending to the meanness of such discourse, there were other prohibitions and blemishes attached to it, which rendered it unworthy of me. For some speeches may not improbably in the sight of the uninformed have an appearance of arising from a habit of ostentation, which is the main principle of the mean-principled, and in my opinion is the head and chief of all vices. But, praise and thanks be to God, my excessive deviation and declension from this propensity are so constitutional and have been carried to such a pass, as to have rather occasioned me obscurity in the world and fortuitous contempt. The true cause of writing this hasty sketch was, that at this time, which is the end of the year one thousand one hundred and fifty-four (A. D. 1742) sitting in a retired corner in the town of Dehli, I

was a prey to grief and disease, and my temper and mind were distracted. Full to the lip with anguish, I was utterly abandoned by ease and quiet, and, amidst the vacation of all employment and the assaults of my inward grief, there was nothing to engage my serious attention, at the same time that all my nights were sleepless. Having, therefore, no other choice of amusement, I scribbled in the course of two nights, as far as this place, whatever came to the tongue of my pen of the summary of my adventures. May the reader fold up this epitome in the lappet of forgiveness and indulgence! It is a memorial of the accidents of unpropitious fortune, of distracted affairs, and of an afflicted head and heart. ' *To God is my complaint from refractory fortune, and from odious men, of little shame, but abundant misery. Some of them are learned, some ignorant; some are princely commanders, some simple fools; and they have taken their lust for their lord. Ruin be upon them and perdition! O God, pour out patience on us, and take to thyself our spirits, which are resigned to thy divine command.*

' إِلَى ٱللَّهِ ٱلْمُشْتَكَى مِنْ دَهْرٍ عَنُودٍ
وَخَلْقٍ مَرْدُودٍ قَلِيلُ حَيَاءٍ وَهُمْ كَثِيرٌ
شَقَاءٍ وَهُمْ عُلَمَاءُ هُمْ جُهَلَاءُ هُمْ أُمَرَاءُ هُمْ

Arabic Poetry.[1]

May it please God not to prolong our abode in this world, whose value
Equals not in the eye of the understanding a grain of pulse.
The world turns away from ingenuous men with a frown,
But accommodates itself to the mean wretch, who submits to every indignity.

سُفَهَاءُ هُمُ ٱتَّخَذُوا ٱلْهَوَى رَبًّا تَعْسًا لَهُمْ
وَتَبَارًا رَبَّنَا أَفْرِغْ عَلَيْنَا صَبْرًا وَتَوَفَّنَا
مُسْلِمِينَ

شعر

لَا مَكَّنَ ٱللَّهُ دُنْيَانَا فَقِيمَتُهَا
لَيْسَتْ تَفِي عِنْدَ ذِي لُبٍّ بِقِيرَاطِ
دُنْيًا تَأَبَّتْ عَنِ ٱلْأَحْرَارِ قَاطِبَةً
وَطَاوَعَتْ كُلَّ صَفْعَانٍ وَضَرَّاطِ

From the intransitive meaning of the verb قَطَبَ *to be congregated* is formed the noun قَاطِبَةً *a collected multitude*, which in the accusative is used adverbially in the sense of *altogether*. But as قطب is also interpreted *to knit the brow, to frown*, I have preferred taking قاطبة as a principle in the latter sense, and in connexion with دنيا

Two words in the last verse I have not been able to translate literally. صفعان indicates a person who submits to kicks and

Persian.[1]

Heavy is fallen on us the weight of the mountain of sorrow which crushes our bosom ;

May God grant patience to our hearts, which have been removed from their place of rest.

And now, as the relation of some of my adventures subsequent to my arrival in this country has involuntarily fallen from my pen, there will be no harm, should I briefly conclude the description of the remainder.

After I had been a long time resident in *Moltán* an extraordinary event occurred. The channel of the river Indus, which passes along that territory, overflowed in the heat of summer, and covered the streets and fields; and much destruction ensued to the buildings and dwelling-houses of the whole country. All intercourse and business was carried on by means of boats, and numbers of persons were drowned. When the season of harvest arrived, the inundation abated from the fields and villages, and some of the high grounds were left dry. The aged persons of the place said, that it had happened in like manner an age before, and that after the decrease of the waters, the disease of pestilence became common, and an immense number of the population

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cuffs; ضراط one who under such treatment affects to avenge himself by making an obscene noise with his mouth.

بَرا ن افتاد تنكرِ كوهٔ درد سينه فرسارا
خدا صبري دهد دلهاي از جا رفتهٔ مارا

perished. So it was this year. The people were attacked with a shaking fever, which was mostly intermittent; and very few recovered from this disorder, which absolutely admitted no remedy. They who applied medicines, and those who applied none, all alike perished; with the exception of a few who left the country, or in whose fate there was some delay. This calamity extended itself over a space of near five months; and I also was attacked with the full violence of the fever, in such sort, that not one of its symptoms escaped me. In the village where I dwelt not a single inhabitant remained on the spot, and in the depopulation which succeeded, even the most indispensable necessaries of life were not to be found. Of all things the most necessary was the attendance of a servant, who at this time was as rare as the phœnix; and if, by singularity, any person could be found in the commencement of the calamity, who was in health for the employment, after two or three days he fell sick, and was himself in need of a nurse and an attendant, till he died.

The hardship of living and of subsistence at all times in India is evident to every person who may have seen the rest of the kingdoms of the earth; and the causes and occasions of this hardship are more than can be numbered. In fact, all the situations and conditions of this country are condemned by fate to difficulty and bitterness of subsistence; but this sense of things is not revealed to its inhabitants, who, on the contrary, think

themselves more independent for the blessings of life, and more prosperous and easy in their circumstances, than any nation in the world. These hardships indeed, and their tumultuous struggles for livelihood, are agreeable to their natures and digestible to their stomachs. They are not even regarded, and are proper to every condition. Subsistence in these countries without the union of three things is almost impossible. These are gold in plenty, violence the most exorbitant, and utter insensibility. But to render possible the assemblage of these three requisites the constitution of the country is extremely emaciated and destitute of vigour, and the meanest thing cannot be procured without labour, and perplexity, and expectation. That quantity of business which in other kingdoms may be expedited with one man of industrious ability, here with ten persons comes to no conclusion; and whatever increase is given to your servants and train of officers, and to your means and appliances of power, the posture of your affairs becomes but the more untoward and disordered.

From Moltân I had no choice but to set off in all that distress for *Lâhôr*, which city I reached with the greatest difficulty. After some time the fever left me, and health re-appeared. Having staid here, I think, three months, I found it disagreeable for some reasons to remain in that city any longer, and I was forced by necessity to travel. The roads and highways of this wh

empire are at all times unsafe and dangerous; and though I had an aversion to the idea, and felt disgust at the very thought of going to the town of Dehli, which is the residence of the Emperor of India, I could not help removing from Lâhôr and was carried to *Dehli* by the irresistible hand of fate. Here, after a stay of more than twelve months, I was disquieted by the attacks of anxious thought, and being firmly fixed in my intention of quitting this country, I returned to Lâhôr. The purpose of my mind was this, that having gone by the route of Kâbol to Candahâr, I would choose for my retirement in the province of Khorâsân any corner that might chance to suit me. Just about the time of my arrival in Lâhôr, the news came of the march of the army of the Kizil Bâsh to Candahâr, with intent to subdue and rescue it from the hands of the Afghâns, and it was announced that they had already invested that fortress. A severe attack of illness also, which laid me on the bed of infirmity, was protracted to a considerable length; and the atmosphere having become heated, the season, in this country, of showers and heavy rain commenced, and my stay in Lâhôr concluded in being durable. I still was looking out for the news of the settlement of the affair of Candahâr, that so serious an obstacle might be removed from my line of road: but the siege of that town and the disturbances in those confines were prolonged to a great extent.

CHAPTER XLII.

Remainder of the occurrences in Persia subsequent to the Author's arrival in Hindôstân. Flight of Mohammed Khan and his capture. Murder of Mohammed Khan by his own hand.—Extirpation of the Shâfia peasantry out of the territory of Lâr.—Battles with the Turks and their disgraceful defeats.—War with the Lezgi and their being put to flight.

I WILL now, in this place, give a compendious summary of the events, which after my departure from Persia to Hindôstân, I heard, and was with certainty informed, had fallen out in the former empire; in order that, completing the relation of these occurrences also, I may not leave in doubtful expectation those of my readers who turn their views to the truths of history.

Let it therefore be written by the case-describing pen, that the Great Khân, Tahmâsb Coli Khân, having abandoned the second siege of Bagdad by reason of the turbulence and revolt of

Mohammed Khân the Belôch[1] in Fârs, came to Kôh Kîlôh for the purpose of his extirpation. After some fighting the said Mohammed Khân being routed fled to Lâr and to the hot, or low, countries of that district, and applied himself to the meditation of his affairs. In the mean time the Great Khân, having arrived at Shirâz, set at liberty his own commissioners, who by order of Mohammed Khân were in fetters, and shewed them kindness and consolation; whilst every adherent of Mohammed Khân, wherever he fell into his hands, was instantly subjected to punishment and torture. He then sent an army into the hot countries of Lâr to effect the expulsion of Mohammed Khân, who leaving the city and castle of Lâr retired with a body of troops he had with him to those borders of the province, the peasantry of which were of the Shâfia sect and at that time were populous and collected; and there he gave his thoughts to the approvisionment of his army and to dispositions for defence. That tribe however, through a vain notion of their own, fearfully and cautiously shunned him, attributing all

[1] This word is written in my Ms. with a چ but I believe it should be بلوچ. Names of tribes like this, and Afshâr, Bakhtiâri, Câjâr, &c. are equally used of the whole tribe and of each individual belonging to it. Thus may be said Mohammed Khân the Belôch, or of the Belôch Tribe, Nadhr, or Nazr, Coli Khân the Afshâr, &c.

that opposition and altercation between him and the Great Khan, to a concert with him and a contrivance of the latter for the extirpation of their sect, which for so many years had not paid due obedience to the ruling powers; so that Mohammed Khân, however much he laboured to effect it, saw no chance of an union with that people, and how much soever he wished to make them understand, that after him no one would regard or pity them, and that alone, they were too weak to manage their affairs and to protect themselves from harm, he profited nothing. When the army of the Great Khan entered their territory, this tribe was scattered on all sides, and shut themselves up in their forts and villages; and Mohammed Khan, with a number of persons who accompanied him, took to flight, in the hope of reaching Belôchistân or Candahâr: but a detachment of the army of the Kizil Bâsh, having intercepted his road, slew a troop of his attendants and took him alive. He was carried before the Great Khan, who after severely reproaching him for his conduct, ordered his eyes to be taken out with a knife, and put him in confinement. As Mohammed Khan well knew, that he should be subjected to the most horrid and ignominious death, he seized a poniard the very same night, and destroyed himself. The army of the Great Khan, having spread the calamities of war over those low countries, quickly uprooted the sect of the

Shâfias, and removing to other parts the small remnant of them who escaped the sword, they brought peasantry from other districts and settled them in those abodes.

The Great Khan, having gone to Isphahan, marched thence to Azerbâïjân, and as well within the bounds of that province as on the Turkish territory, fought several severe battles with the Turkish armies, in all of which he was victorious. Many of the Turkish generals, and an immense quantity of their troops were killed in these engagements. The Fort of Iravân, Ganjah, a part of the province of Gorjistân, and that portion of the Persian territory which had remained in their possession, all were wrested from them, and not a single place of the kingdom of Irân was left in the hands of that nation. Not content with this, having taken up his quarters for some time on the Turkish territory, he there carried on the war, and ruined and laid waste the greatest part of that country. In consequence of the continuous defeats of the Turks, the annihilation of many of their armies and of their most famous Pashas, the exhaustion of their treasuries and well-stored magazines, and the devastation of most of their frontier provinces, an extreme debility was spread over their affairs, and vigour and splendour had disappeared from their empire. From the Soltân to the peasant, over every inhabitant of that country fear and terror prevailed; and it was reported by

some travellers in Hindôstân, who were returning from Hijâz, that in Egypt and Syria, and countries remote from Persia, they had witnessed the greatest consternation and dread among the inhabitants both civil and military; "so that neither had we," said they, "any sleep or rest in the midst of them." The Turks made repeated petitions for peace to the Great Khan; but the negotiations failed of approval and confirmation.

Next, from the Turkish territory he turned his reins towards Dâghistân, the province of the Lezgi tribe, who during the period of the revolution had wrested their heads from obedience to the king of Persia, had united with the Turks, and had not since taken the road of submission and exculpation. At first they collected together and began to make resistance; but after some chastisement and discomfiture they became suppliants for pardon and were reduced to obedience.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Installation of Nâdir Shâh in the Sovereignty of Irân.—Embellishment of the Garden of Rizâ and the addition of a new stream of water.—Construction of a Tomb.—War with the Bakhtiâri tribe, and slaughter of them.—March to Candahâr.—Siege of the fortress of Candahâr.—Building of Nâdir Abâd.

THE Great Khan then proceeded to Chôl Moghân, or the Plain of the Fire Worshippers, situated in Azerbâïjân, and summoning from all the countries of the empire of Persia the Ayâns, or Grandees, the Katkhodâyân, or Proprietors, and the Rîsh Safîdân, or Elders, he enforced their attendance by employing rigorous commissioners, who brought them all to appear in that place. One day the Khân having assembled a full meeting of his generals with the Turkish Ambassador, who was come to sue for peace and friendship, and on some pretext having put to death one or

two of the most celebrated men of the time, he displayed before them the dread instruments of execution. In that awful assembly he began a speech on the affair of sovereignty, and addressing himself to all that groupe of persons he made allusion to military affairs and the management of the army. As it had been preconcerted, a number of his particular adherents made declarations of their sincere attachment and devoted servitude; and he then requested to have it pointed out to him by the assembly, what person was fit to be their king, and what the mode of conduct to be pursued was under the existing circumstances. The people understood his meaning and opened their mouths to utter what the exigency of their situation dictated. A book inscribed with the particulars of the assent and unanimity of the meeting was impressed with their seals. The sovereign power was abrogated from the possession of Shâh Abbâs, the proclamation of the regal dignity of the Great Khan was set forth, and his title was established as NÂDIR SHÂH. This event took place in the year one thousand one hundred and forty-eight, (A. D. 1735,)[1] which date was found in the phrase AL KHEIRO FI MÁ

[1] I find in Sir J. Malcolm's History of Persia that this event is dated 1736, and that the name of the place of assembly is given *Chowal Mogám*; doubtless by good authority.

WACAA.[1] *Best is what has happened.* According to order, the former coin was changed; and on one face of the new pieces was stamped the name of the town of each mint where coined, with the accompanying line *Bitârîkh Alkeiro fima wacaa, At the date of Alkheiro,* &c. I have heard that one of the elegant poets of Irân produced a similar couplet to the following:

Lines.[2]

We cut off all desire of property and life,
At the date of *Best is what has happened.*

As for Shah Tahmâsb, having sent for the prince Abbâs Mirza, to be near his person, he sometimes resided in Meshed of Tôs and the town

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[1] According to their order in the numerical Alphabet

50	40	30	20	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
ن	ص	ل	ك	ي	ط	ح	ز	و	ه	د	ج	ب	ا

1000	900	800	700	600	500	400	300	200	100	90	80	70	60
غ	ظ	ض	خ	ذ	ث	ت	ش	ر	ق	ص	ف	ع	س

the sum and powers of the letters in the phrase الخير فيما وقع are ا 1 + ل 30 + خ 600 + ي 10 + ر 200 + ف 80 + ي 10 + م 40 + ا 1 + و 6 + ق 100 + ع 70 = 1148

[2] بريديم از مال و از جان طمع
بتاريخ الخير فيما وقع

of Sabzavâr, and sometimes in Mâzenderân, attended by the guards who were charged with his custody. Nâdir Shah now applied himself to repair and beautify the buildings in the illuminated garden of Rizâ, benediction be on its inhabitants! Some of the lofty edifices on that blessed area he adorned with bricks of gold from top to bottom, and from the foot of the mountains in that district he conducted a stream of water and joined it to the river Khiyâbân, which passes along the area of the garden. In the city he raised and completed a lofty tomb for himself. After its completion, on one of the walls of the edifice was seen written the following distich,

Lines.[1]

Thy music is or should be in every key;
The world is full of thee, but thy place is empty.

The writer, though every possible search and enquiry was made after him, was not discovered.

Afterwards he went into the province of Irâk. The Bakhtiârî tribe had again raised their heads to revolt and mutiny. After severe warfare he

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[1] در هیچ پرده نیست نباشد نوای تو
عالم پر است از تو و خالیست جای تو

These verses, I apprehend, imply, that the music to be performed for Nâdir Shâh would be most suitably to the desire of his subjects a funeral dirge; and that he obtrudes himself on the world to its great distress as long he delays to occupy the place best adapted for him, and now prepared, his tomb.

obtained victory over them. Great numbers of that nation were killed, and the remnant fell powerless of rebellion. From these confines having fixed his resolution on marching to Candahâr, he sent notice of his intention to Hosein, brother of Mahmôd the Kilizehi, who was the ruler of that town; and set out in that direction by the route of Kermân. Hosein had in readiness a great abundance of stores and apparatus, and a well equipped army; and by his command, no sooner had Nâdir Shâh arrived on the borders of Sîstân, than a detachment of Afghâns marched to attack him; but being repulsed and overthrown, they retreated in confusion to Candahâr. When Nâdir Shah afterwards arrived in the neighbourhood of the fortress, again a regular army of Afghâns came forward to engage him, and after a hard fight, having been put to rout, they shut themselves up in the fort. Nadir Shah immediately invested that citadel, which for strength and solidity is one of the most celebrated in the universe; and the Afghâns expended all the efforts within the scope of their ability in performing the duties of vigilant bravery and circumspection, of firm resistance, and unwearied activity. But their exertions proved useless; for the army of the Kizil Bâsh obtained possession of all the dependencies and appendages of the city, and wherever an Afghân was found he became the food of the scimitar.

Nadir Shâh subsequently issued an order in his camp, that every man should build a habitation suitable to his condition; and for himself he gave directions to throw up ramparts and towers, and for the construction of a palace and some lofty edifices. The architects and workmen, who accompanied him in a great body, were not long in completing their tasks; and by the side of Candahâr a vast city with all its appurtenances sprang to view, which obtained the name of Nâdir Abâd.[1]

[1] This appears to be the modern Candahâr, close to the site of the old city, the name of which, after the death of its founder, it substituted for Nâdir Abâd.

CHAPTER XLIV.

A few words touching the history and circumstances of Hindôstân.

I WILL now pen a short discourse respecting Hindôstân.

To the versed in the truths of facts, and to the diligent searcher into reports and traditions it is not unknown, that the liberation and freedom of Bâber Mîrzâ, son of Mirza Omar Sheikh, from obscurity and distraction, from perplexity and distress, and his mounting on the saddle of imperial command, were not effected but by laying hold of and hanging on the skirts of the august dynasty of the prince, equal in state to Solomon, the father of permanency, Shâh Ismaïl Safavi. For every person informed in the history of the children and grand-children of the Lord of Conjunction, Amîr Tîmôr Kôrkân, well knows, what their conduct was to each other, and the conduct

of the people towards them; that neglecting no single punctilio of altercation and bloody contention among themselves, they considered it their duty to murder or otherwise to injure one another; and that the people, in consequence of their disputes and tyrannical demeanour, being continually harrassed with grief and affliction and every kind of calamity and provocation, felt the existence of that family as a weight on their hearts, and bending all their thoughts to a riddance of them, neglected no means in their power, nor any moment of opportunity to slay them as they could. The happiest in his life and circumstances was the Soltân, Hosein Mirza Bâïcar, who after the establishment of his authority, with reference to the others, was extremely moderate and quiet. But after his decease and the predominance of Sheibek Khân the Ozbek, and after the extirpation of the sons of that emperor by the violence and treachery of the latter, and the elevation of the standards of his own majesty and pomp, the affairs of the remaining members of the family of Tîmôr came to such a pass of weakness, as must be generally known to all searchers of history. In short, the strength of counsel and the beam of regard of the Safavean prince, incomparable in lineage, the fame of whose majesty had spread from east to west and filled both horizons, having brought Bâber Mîrzâ into the field of splendour, gave him wings and

pinions, and conferred on him all kinds of favours and continual assistance. He also, during the whole course of his life, both in the days of his empire in Hindôstân, and before that, was in the habit of recurring for support, and of manifesting the sincerity of his friendship, to that august dynasty; sometimes by giving currency to its Khotbah and coin, as in Samarcand; sometimes by sending humble petitions and supplications of requests; and thus maintaining the satisfaction and contentment of the prince, equal in state to Solomon. His children also and grand-children on any occasion of weakness and necessity, and when they had some purpose in view, always preserved this custom of recurring for support and assistance to the sublime Safavean family, and held it as the central affection of their minds; but at the time of any calamity or frightful occurrence in Irân, or at the cessation of their interested views and wants by reason of their tranquillity and the absence of all violent disputes from every corner of their Indian empire, changing their former habit into affected haughtiness and exorbitant pride, they barred up the road of intimacy. This habit has been confirmed in the nature and constitution of the line of Bâber; and it would appear that the disposition is an effect of the water and air of India; for it is evident that the people of this country cultivate no one's friendship without some selfish motive, and it is proved from ancient books and records, that also before the intro-

duction of Islamism the Râis and Rulers of these regions were of the same temper and character. Whenever the kings of Persia were either themselves in person on their march in this direction, or had despatched any of their military commanders, the Indians seeing they had no power of victory nor of contention within their reach, affected great wretchedness and debility, and shewed every kind of obedience and the utmost readiness in paying their imposts; but after the return of the Persians to their own country, in a short space of time and on the first occasion, those Râis of confused reason, at the sight of the despicable crowds of their dependents flocking round them as in a rookery, and on view of a few handfuls of Direms and Dînârs collected together, would be tempted with the temptation of pride, and in their own house, and as far as they were free to range, began to display their empty boastings and rash falsehood, so as forgetting their past circumstances, their promises and engagements, to change altogether the tenour of their conduct.

Such treatment as I have described on the part of the Persian Sovereigns, and similar practices to those I have detailed in the behaviour of the Indians, have been repeated many times. One occasion was in the reign of Minôchehr, by whose command Sâm son of Narimân, having marched into India, established Keisô Râj in the government. Afterwards Fîrôz Râï, son of

Keisô, set himself up in opposition and independence, and Keicobâd dispatched Rostam Dâstân to India, by whom Fîrôz was put to flight and ended his days in the jungles of that country. Rostam, having fixed Sôrj in the government, returned to Persia.

In like manner it happened in the reign of Sikander, and Ardeshîr Bâbek, and Kisrî Anôshîrvân, and on other occasions, for the mention of which I have no room.

The reason wherefore the Kings of Persia would not retain the government of Hindôstân in their own hands is manifest to every clear-sighted person. No man, who has a residence and place of abode such as the provinces of Persia afford, which in their nature and essence are the best adjusted and most noble, and to all outward appearance are the most beautiful and perfect habitation in the known world, will ever be able of his own choice to reside in Hindôstân. Every person's nature is so formed, that without necessity he will never consent to a long abode in this country; and this feeling is common to the King, the peasant, and the soldier. Indeed this is the situation of every man, who with sound senses has been brought up in other air and water, especially if in the empire of Persia or Turkey; unless it be of him who inconsiderately and ignorantly comes into this country, and finds no possibility of returning; or of him that by reason of obsta-

cles and accidents has had no choice left him of remaining in a different place; and, having passed his former days in thorough hardship and poverty, unexpectedly arrives in this country at wealth and dignity, on which, being weak in his senses and mean in his disposition, he fixes his affections, and gradually acquiring the habits of his station, he at length becomes tranquil and familiarised.

I have read in the Chronicles of the Magi, that when Zahhâk, having appointed Gershâsb to the command of his troops, was about to send him to India, he gave him this commission and recommendation; that, having subdued the kingdom with all speed, he should deliver it into the hands of a Mihârâj, and return. "For," said he, "should the army make some stay, and pass to acquaintance and familiarity with the people of those regions, it will be no longer of any service to me. I shall be compelled either to disband and set it loose in that country, or to give it up to slaughter; neither of which I think right; for the army is my right hand, which it would be madness to cut off."

The master poet, Asadi of Tôs,[1] in his Gershâsb Nâmeh has put this story into verse:

[1] Asadi, one of the most celebrated Persian poets of Khorâsân, was the master of Ferdowsi, to whom he gave the plan of the Shâh Nâmeh. The four thousand last verses of this poem, which begin with the conquest of Persia by the Arabs under the Calif Omar, are the composition of Asadi.

Mesnavi.[1]

He thus gave instructions to Gershâsb:

"In India bid adieu to sleep.
"Spare not the blood of the soldiers,
"But continually put in action the flaming sword.
"With speed make an end of your important business
"And strike on them as a wolf on a flock of sheep.
"Stay not the year out in that country,
"Lest the army step aside from fame and valour.
"Should four seasons pass over you there,
"You would no longer find a trace of manlihood or bravery.

In short, the truth as regards the conduct of the Safavean Soltâns towards the kings and princes of the line of Bâber is not concealed from the nations of the world. Whenever the sovereigns of that race, according to their custom in times of self-sufficiency, shewed any neglect or delay in ob-

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[1] وصیت چنین کرد کرشاسب را
که در هند بدرود کن خسپ را
نداري ز خون سپاهان دریغ
همي کار فرما درخشنده تیغ
بچستي ده انجام کار سترگ
بر ایشان چنان زن که بر کله گرگ
نماني در آن بوم سالي تمام
که لشکر گران کیرد از ننگ و نام
گرت بکذرد چار موسم در آن
ز فرهنگ و مردي نیابي نشان

serving their obligations, or in performing the duties of friendship and alliance, and began to estrange themselves and affect independence, the other party, in the absence of all interested views and pretensions, and solely from a disposition to manliness and civility, again brought about a revival of that intercourse which the most sympathising and heartiest friendship demands. And, truly, some of the distinguishing qualities of the exalted Safavean race were generosity, fidelity, strict humanity, and kindly affection. History has ranked among its greatest wonders, what these princes have done towards their dependents, whether strangers or acquaintances, and even to their malignant enemies, in the day of their distress and flight to them for refuge, in granting them benefits and assistance, and every kind of aid and friendship, comfort and hospitality, sympathy bordering on perfect condescension, and the observance of every civility. This character they have placed on a high monument, and with them none either of their predecessors or successors have any pretensions to compete.

The late Soltân, Shah Soltân Hosein also, during the thirty years of his reign, observed the same conduct towards the line of Bâber, and whether for congratulation or consolation shewed no neglect in sending to them his ambassadors. When the period of the reign of that august monarch terminated, and Shah Ṭahmâsh succeeded

to his throne, the Emperor of India, during all that disturbance which prevailed in the province of Irân, true to his ungrateful principles, never gave a thought to the precepts of his fealty, but, on the contrary, kept up an intercourse of amity and alliance with Mir Veis the Afghân. With Hosein also, the son of Veis the Afghân, at a later period, when he had become the ruler of Candahâr, notwithstanding that he had marched an army into Moltân, and had left nothing undone to depopulate and ruin that country, still after his return twice was a communication opened by way of embassy.

CHAPTER XLV.

Ambassadors are consecutively dispatched to India.—The envoy, Mohammed Khan, is detained in Shâh Jehân Abâd.—Conquest and destruction of the fort of Candahâr.—Nâdir Shâh arrives at Cabol.—Murder of the Ambassador at Jelâl Abâd.—Nâdir Shâh marches to Jelâl Abâd.—General massacre of the inhabitants of that town. — Ibrâhim Khân is killed in Shiràz.—Battle with Nâsir Khân, who is taken prisoner.—Arrival of Nâdir Shâh at Peshâver, and his passage of the river at Atak.

However, immediately after the conquest of Isphâhân and the extirpation of the Afghâns, Shah Tahmâsb sent one of his Omarâs on an embassy to Hindôstân to inform Mohammed Shah of the recent occurrences. In his letter he gave him notice, that "whereas the rabble of the Afghâns, who have been traitors to this court and robbers of this country, have now met their due punishment, and the remnant of the sword are on their flight; and whereas from the terror of our victorious army there is no refuge for them but in India, you are requested not to give to

to those perverse wretches either road or room, and not to permit that they enter your territory." After some time Mohammed Shah wrote a reply couched in terms of no conclusion, and sent back the ambassador.

On the accession of the prince Abbâs Mirza to the place of his exalted father, one of the Omarâs was again deputed as ambassador to India, and a like message was inclosed in his despatches. A long time afterwards leave was given him to return, and by him were written precisely similar words, wherein was absolutely nothing of the soul of the business.

Nâdir Shâh, after a short interval, sent one of the most distinguished of his Kizil Bâsh to Borhân Ol Molk, who was the greatest of the Omarâs of India, and wrote a letter to Mohammed Shah and to him both. This ambassador, on his arrival at the frontier of the empire, was plundered by robbers; but after a thousand entreaties he recovered his despatches from them, and having reached his destination with the greatest difficulty, he executed the purpose of his mission. Unable, however, to find the means of returning he is still in this country.

When Nâdir Shâh had marched to Candahâr and invested that fortress, he again sent on the same mission Mohammed Khân the Turkomân, who was one of the Safavean Omarâs, and repeating the former message complained of the past

conduct. As soon as the envoy arrived at Shâh Jehân Abâd, he delivered his letter and was told to wait; but they were silent as to any answer: and however much he solicited permission to depart, it was of no avail. Sometimes they were unable to agree in their own minds on the question of writing any answer at all; at other times they were confused and perplexed, in case they wrote, what titles and forms of address they should use toNâdir Shah. The truth of the matter was this: thinking the detention of the ambassador Mohammed Khân a stroke of state policy, they waited to see, if perchance Hosein the Afghân with the troops besieged in Candahâr gained the victory over Nâdir Shâh, and destroyed him or put him to flight; on which event there would be no need of writing any answer to his letter. As, however, the siege of Candahâr was protracted and the return of Mohammed Khân delayed, Nâdir Shah wrote a Firmân to him, which he sent by some horsemen of great speed in travelling, and questioning him as to the true state of the affair, commanded him to use his best endeavours in obtaining an answer, and enjoined him to quicken his return: but as no answer was forthcoming, and the ambassador could not obtain leave for his departure, this step led to no result.

The siege of Candahâr had now lasted near twelve months, and the city of Nâdir Shâh was built up and completed by its side. Nâdir Shâh

ly gave orders, that the army of the Kizil Bash should make an assault upon the fort, and scale the towers. The Afghâns were overthrown, and their strong ramparts were thrown open. Hosein was sent in fetters to Mâzenderân.

During the course of some years, and since the time that the Afghâns were routed at Shirâz, a multitude of that nation had been in continual wandering. Making their way into Hindôstân and settling in every place, most of them became attendant on the Sirkârs, and entered the Indian army. And, in truth, the obligation of repelling them which they imposed on Mohammed Shah was beyond the capacity of his power and government.

Nâdir Shâh, having issued an order for the destruction of the fortress of Candahâr, commanded that the market people and inhabitants of that place should be transferred to Nâdir Abâd, and set off on his march to Ghaznîn[1] and Kâbol. To the governor of the fort of Kâbol he sent a message to say, that he had nothing to do with the dominions of Mohammed Shah; but that as those confines were the source and mine of the Afghâns, and a number of the fugitives had arrived there, the object of his coming was the total extirpation of that race: that he should therefore give no

[1] The name of this town is variously written Ghaznîn, Ghazni, Ghaznah, and Ghaznî.

way to apprehensions on his own account, but do his best endeavours to comply with the rights and demands of hospitality.

Nâdir Shâh himself pitched his camp in the neighbourhood of the city of Kâbol. The governor and people of the place prepared themselves for war and contest, and it was of no avail to send them messages or to advise them. A detachment, therefore, of the Kizil Bâsh was ordered to attack them and destroy their fort; but at the first onset, and at the very beginning of the work of destruction, a portion of the inhabitants raised a cry of distress, and the besieged, having obtained pardon and clemency, evacuated the fort and performed the duties of submission. Wherever the Afghâns in those parts assembled in a body, the army of the Kizil Bâsh marched upon them and cut them to pieces.

Nâdir Shâh, being extremely annoyed at the detention of Mohammed Khân, gave some verbal messages to some of the principal men of Kâbol, and sent them to Shâh Jehân Abâd to carry them to the emperor and his ministers. For himself he remained stationary at Kâbol. The envoys came to Lahôr and thence proceeded to Shâh Jehân Abâd; but no one listened to a word from them, or if he listened did not understand. Again from Kâbol he despatched one of his troopers on the same mission, giving him ten horsemen to accompany him. When they arrived at Jelâl Abâd, they alighted at a house. A mob of miscreants of that

place attacked the house round about, and first robbed them of their arms. Afterwards they killed ten of them, and the only one that escaped fled to Kâbol and represented the history of the occurrence.

The length of the stay of Nâdir Shâh in Kâbol was about seven months, and during that time he exercised vengeance and slaughter on the Afghans in those parts. Unable to rest after receiving the news of the murder committed on the ten persons of his messengers, he moved towards Jelâl Abâd, and having commanded a general massacre of the inhabitants of that city, he caused to perish an immense population. A singular circumstance was, that for the chief of the assassins of those ten persons a robe of honour had been destined to be sent from the court of Mohammed Shah, but was prevented by the massacre at Jelâl Abâd.

From the day that the news was reported in India of the arrival of Nâdir Shâh at Kâbol, Khân Dôrân, the Amîro 'L Omarâ or chief minister, and Nizâmo 'L Molk were appointed to carry on the war against him, and held their head quarters at Shâh Jehân Abâd. At the same time they spread the report of their being shortly about to march in the direction of Kâbol; and this also in their opinion was a stroke of state policy.

One of the remarkable events in Persia, which came to the ears of Nâdir Shâh in Jelâl Abâd, was the death of his brother Ibrâhim Khân, whom

he had made Amîro 'L Omarâ of Azerbâîjân, whose residence was at Tabrîz. As the expedition to Candahâr and Kâbol drew to a great length, a body of the Lezgîs, having equipped themselves for war, led an army into the province of Shîrvân, which is in their neighbourhood; and Ibrâhîm Khân, having marched into the same province, gave battle to that nation, and was killed in the action. Nâdir Shâh, not giving much attention to this occurrence, dismissed one division of his army from further attendance on him and sent it into Shîrvân; and himself moved forward towards Peshâver.

Nâsir Khân, governor of the district of Kâbol, was at that time in Peshâver. With a detachment of troops which he had with him, and collecting also a body of the Afghans of that country, he took a position on the line of road, and in his own belief strongly fortified some high rugged banks and narrow vallies, and closed them to the passage of the enemy. Nâdir Shâh sent him a message, that on a certain day he (Nâdir Shâh) should come up, and that he (Nâsir Khân) had better move away from the road. This advice had no effect; and on the day appointed Nâdir Shâh arrived. An immense crowd of the Afghâns and of Nâsir Khân's troops were cut to pieces in the valley, and the Khân himself was taken alive. After a few days he was treated with great honour and respect, and Nâdir Shâh having marched down into the city of Peshâver, effected the passage of the river of Atak in boats.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Remainder of the history of the Author.—His removal from Lâhôr and arrival at Sarhind.—Nâdir Shah arrives at Lâhôr.—The governor of Lâhôr is overthrown.—Nâdir Shah proceeds towards Dehli.—The Author sets out from Sarhind and arrives at Dehli.

In the province of Panjâb, especially in the city of Lâhôr, a terror like that of the resurrection arose. Seized with a violent illness I was confined to my bed in that town; and as I well knew the people of India, and disgusted with their demeanour, was in utter hopelessness of any intellect or discretion in them, I burnt with grief at the condition of the weak and depressed subjects. During that whole space of time I had not found an opportunity of setting out in the direction of Khorâsân; and as I knew with certainty, that the situation of affairs must induce the coming of Nâdir Shâh into Hindôstân, and he had already entered the district of Kâbol, my journey, should

its performance be facilitated, would necessarily be directed by the same route as his. And as the disposition and peculiar views of the people of this country would, as by fate, determine them to believe that, without the least doubt, my going was the instigator of his coming; an opinion odious to my heart, and of itself a sufficient obstacle to my journey; whereas also, without regarding the hindrances produced by disturbance, the passage on that side was attended with extreme difficulty; for these reasons I had remained till then in Lâhôr. But now that so much tumult prevailed; that in the appearance and complexion of their affairs there was no hope for this people of any amendment, I found no patience in myself to behold the posture of their circumstances and property; and as by reason of the alteration in my own I was not in a condition on the other hand to associate with the army of the Kizil Bâsh, I was compelled in a state of languid convalescence and the most reduced weakness to remove from Lâhôr in the direction of Soltânpôr. That whole province was in complete revolution. Every person put forth his hand to plunder and pillage, and some thousands of highway robbers beset the public roads. I was detained some days in the villages of those parts; afterwards I came to *Sarhind*. The whole of that time, whether on the road or at the stations, passed in fighting and contention and resistance for self defence.

Nâdir Shâh now arrived in the skirts of the city of Lâhôr. Zakariah, the governor of that town, with fourteen or fifteen thousand regular horse and his own militia, having taken up a strong position on the bank of the river which passes close by the city, had formed his lines for battle. Both the peace and war of the Indians are of a strange cast. However, Nâdir Shâh with a division of his army drove his horse into the water and crossed over; and some of the cavalry of the Kizil Bâsh rode to the attack of the Lâhôr troops, of which those entitled with bravery and valour,[1] who were the most skilful in the management of their horses, instantly took to flight, and the rest, being thrown into disorder, were annihilated and confounded. At last the Governor with his followers retired into the fort, and Nâdir Shâh pitched his camp adjoining the town. The Governor of Lâhôr sending a suppliant petition and apology begged for pardon; and having come into the presence of Nâdir Shâh,

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[1] The titles which every military man of superior rank in India has given to him or assumes, are شجاع the Arabic term for *brave, warlike*, and بهادر which, if for بهادار is a compound Persian and Arabic word, and means *a possessor of glory and splendour*. The words in the text are شجاعان و بهادران ایشان که در سواري ماهرتر بودند بکر

he was treated with respect, obtained a robe of honour, and remained fixed in his former office.

Nâdir Shâh, leaving a body of troops in the castle of Lâhôr, moved forward on the route to Shâh Jehân Abâd. Mohammed Shâh, accompanied by all his Omarâs and his whole army, had for some time sallied forth from the city, and was coming to the encounter in full pomp and splendour.

For my part, leaving Sarhind, which was in utter ruin and was invested by an army of robbers, I set out towards Dehli, with a troop of footmen and musketeers, whom I had brought together and kept with me. Having passed through the midst of the army of Mohammed Shâh, which in the course of near two months had performed only four stages on the road, and was crowded together in the closest throng, I entered the city. Some days afterwards I took up a corner in that tumultuous town.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Nadir Shâh arrives at the plain of Karnâl, fights a pitched battle with Mohammed Shâh, and gains the victory.—Nâdir Shâh takes up his quarters in the citadel of Shâh Jehân Abâd.—Revolt and general massacre of the inhabitants of Dehli.—Nâdir Shâh takes Sind and Kâbol to his own possession.—Mohammed Shâh is confirmed in his sovereignty.—Marriage of the son of Nâdir Shâh.

TWICE or thrice from Lâhôr also, before he came up with the Indian army, Nâdir Shâh sent a message to Mohammed Shâh to expedite the return to him of his ambassador Mohammed Khân. But although they carried the ambassador along with them on their march, they would not grant him his congé; and at that time it did not appear, what their design could be in keeping him. At length Nâdir Shâh came up, the two armies met on the plain of Karnâl, which is four stages distant from Shâh Jehân Abâd, and war was joined between them. The Indians having gathered their artillery around were closely hemmed in by their own field-pieces, and as a division of the

Kizil Bâsh had also formed a ring on every side of them, all intercourse with the exterior was closed to them and dearth and famine fell on that army, so that their condition turned out to be such as in the world of their pride they had never even imagined. Nâdir Shâh divided his army into two parts; one he left to guard his camp, and with the other division he assaulted the Indians. Borhâno 'L Molk was taken alive: Khân Dôrân, the Amîro 'L Omarâ, and Mozaffir Khân his brother, and a number of the distinguished Omarâs, with an immense quantity of troops were slain. In the midst of the action night intervened. Mohammed Shâh and those who had escaped the sword, who were still an innumerable multitude, finding the cavalry of the Kizil Bâsh spread around them on all sides, were afraid to stir, and although they saw themselves unable to maintain their position, they remained on the spot. Whoever fled, if he fell not into the hands of the Kizil Bâsh, the peasantry of those parts put an end to his life; or if they spared his blood, they let him not go before they had stripped him naked.

Arabic Poetry.[1]

When the raven guides a nation in its course

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[1] شعر

إذا كان الغراب دليل قوم

The burial-grounds of the Magi are its noon-day dormitories.

In short, the Nizâmo 'L Molk and Mohammed Shâh with some of his courtiers having repaired to the camp of Nâdir Shâh to resign themselves and offer their excuses, met with clemency and forgiveness; and Nâdir Shâh, having cheered and solaced Mohammed Shâh, gave him the glad intimation, that he should suffer no injury in his life, his empire, or his dignity.

Nâdir Shâh, then, with both the armies entered

فَنَادُوسُ ٱلْمَجُوسِ لَهَا مَقِيلٌ

Finding no satisfactory explanation of the plural term فنادوس even in the Câmûs, I have given it the sense which the context seems to indicate, and conjecture that its simplest form resembles the Latin word *fundus*, with which it seems to agree in meaning, as allusion is here evidently made to the manner of burying among the Magi, or Guebres. The noblest funeral which they think they can perform for their deceased friends, is exposing them to be devoured by the fowls of the air. After the body has lain dead for some time, they convey it on a bier of stone or iron, for wood is not allowed, as it is fuel for the fire, to the place of sepulture, which is a raised ground, made shelving towards the centre, and inclosed with a wall, sometimes twelve feet high and one hundred in circumference. In the middle is a door of stone, six feet from the earth, to admit the corpse, which is left to be torn and eaten by the vultures and other birds of prey, that crowd upon the walls. The prospect of a well furnished cemetery of the Magi is therefore similar to that of a field of slaughtered men.

the city, and took up his quarters in the castle of Shâh Jehân Abâd. Mohammed Shâh was also with him in the castle, and the Indian chiefs and soldiers settled in their habitations according to their former and accustomed arrangements. This was on the ninth of Dzo 'l hijjah, one thousand one hundred and fifty-one (A.D. 1739.). On the afternoon of the eleventh of the same month, the Indians spread a report that Nâdir Shâlf was dead; some saying, that he had died a natural death, others pretending, that he had been assassinated by the treachery and contrivance of Mohammed Shâh. In whatever way, within the course of an hour, his death became the talk of the whole city, whilst he was sound and safe, sitting with a large assembly in the castle, the gates of which were open night and day, employed in the despatch of important business. Some portions of his army were quartered round the fort and in the houses of the city, and some were encamped on the bank of the river which joins the city. Briefly, in consequence of this mere lying report, troops upon troops of rash fools, furnished with arms and accoutrements of war, raised tumult and confusion in every skirt and corner of the town, and turned their endeavours to the slaughter and plunder of the Kizil Bâsh. This scene spread itself over the whole city. The Kizil Bâsh soldiers, who understood not the language of the Indians, and had

no acquaintance with the places, were scattered and walking about by ones and twos in every street and market; and the Indians coming suddenly upon them put them to slaughter. Though night came on, the mischievous promoters of the tumult gave themselves no rest, and the disorder continued to increase. After a true statement of the affair had been several times brought to Nâdir Shâh, he issued an order to his army, that every man should remain quiet in his place and station and not occupy himself with vengeance; and, that if the Indians made an attack upon them, they should keep themselves on the defensive. Not one of the Indian Omarâs that night, though fully aware of what was going forward, offered himself at all to allay the fire of this tumultuous revolt: on the contrary, some men whom at their own request they had obtained from Nâdir Shâh for their private security and protection, and had taken home with them, were slaughtered in their houses. And whereas in the battle of Karnâl only about twenty men of the Kizil Bâsh were slightly wounded with arrow shots, and not more than three were killed; in this scene of riot near seven thousand of them died by violence.

At day-break the tumult was still increasing in its vehemence. Soon afterwards, Nâdir Shâh rode down from the castle, and gave orders for a general massacre. To the division of horse and foot

charged with this service he said, that as far as the very spot, in every direction, where a Kizil Bâsh had been killed, they were not to leave alive a single Indian. The Persian troops, having begun their work of destruction and pillage, entered the palaces and dwellings of the city, and making an immense slaughter, carried away the property as plunder, and the women and children as slaves. A great part also of the city was laid waste and burnt down. When half the day was past and the number of the slain exceeded all calculation, Nâdir Shâh sounded the note of mercy to those who survived the slaughter, and the troopers drew back their hands. After some days, the streets and houses being full of dead bodies, and the air contaminated, and the passage through the town being consequently difficult, an order for its purification was promulgated. The Kôtwâl, or civil governor of the city, having collected th bodies at every pass, with the rubbish and litt of the fallen buildings, burnt them all in heaps, without distinction of Infidel or Moslem.

Nâdir Shâh now took possession of the imperial treasures; and quantities of gold were obtained also from the people. Being for certain urgent motives in haste to return, he detached from the empire of Hindôstân and the dominions of Mohammed Shâh, and annexed to the kingdom of Irân the whole of the province of Sind and the district of Kâbol, with some places in the Pan-

jâb which are in assignment to the latter district.

Having sent for Mohammed Shâh and the Indian Omarâs, he held an assembly, in which he gave the Jîcah, or diadem, to the former, and to the latter presented robes of honour; and having imparted to them some wholesome advice, he left them in possession of the sovereign authority.

To his infant son Nasr Ollah Mîrzâ, whom he had with him, he joined in the bonds of matrimony a daughter of one of the grand-children of the Emperor Awrang Zîb; and on the seventh of the month Safar one thousand one hundred and fifty-two (A. D. 1739.) having beaten the drum of retreat from Shâh Jehân Abâd, he set out on his return to his dominions.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Shah Tahmâsb is put to death.—Duration of the dynasty of the Safavean Soltâns, may God illumine their evidence!—Conclusion of the history of the Author.

One of the remarkable events which occurred in Persia, on the same day, was the violent death of Shâh Tahmâsb Safavi in the town of Sabzavâr. As Nâdir Shâh had come to India, leaving his eldest son Rizâ Colî Mîrzâ for his lieutenant in Irân; and as on the very day that the public of Shâh Jehân Abâd had falsely raised the report of Nâdir Shâh's death, and made it the foundation of the subsequent tumult, the news was spread to their most distant provinces and travelled also into Persia; and as the falsity of the intelligence was not yet discovered, Rizâ Colî Mîrzâ, who resided at the holy Meshed, fell to think of his personal interests; and looking on the life of that youthful king as repugnant to the arrangement of his affairs, though he had not once during the

whole of that time set up any claim to sovereign power, and was attentively watched by his guards, he gave the signal for his death; and the officers having smote him to the ground, carried him to the holy Meshed and there interred him. His sons Abbâs Mîrzâ and Soleimân Mîrzâ, who were both tender infants, bade adieu also to this transitory world, and no children of him remained.

Arabic Poetry.[1]

We count the Moshrif sword and the tall spears;
Yet fate kills us without a fight or struggle.
We are bound in the ties of the most ancient kindred;
Yet they do not secure us from the nightly villain.

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[1] شعر

نَعُدُّ ٱلْمُشْرِفِيَّةَ وَٱلْعَوَالِي
وَتَقْتُلُنَا ٱلْمَنُونُ بِلَا قِتَالِ
وَنَرْتَبِطُ ٱلسَّوَابِقَ مُقْرَبَاتٍ
وَلَا يُنْجِينَ مِنْ خَبَثِ ٱللَّيَالِي

[1] Little dependence can be placed on the grammar or orthography of the Persian manuscript, particularly in Arabic quotations: and I have not the opportunity of ascertaining the gender of the word منون whether it should be joined with تقتل or يقتل

The word مشرفية in my manuscript is marked with a *damma* on the *mim*. In the Câmôs it is found with a *fatha*, as ob-

Abo 'ddorr Jemalo 'ddîn Yâcôt, the Penn has said, and his expression is most beautiful ingenious;

Arabic Lines.[1]

My fraternal friends I regarded as coats of mail;
And they were so, but for my enemies.

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served by the Baron De Sacy in the 3rd Vol. of his *Chrestomathie*, p. 53. I thence insert the following quotation from a Geographical Dictionary in the Baron's possession. المشارف جمع مشرف قري قرب حوران منها بصري ينسب اليها السيوف المشرفية وقيل هي قري باليمن وقد جآء في المغازي ان جيش معاوية لقيتهم جموع هرقل بقرية من قري البلقآء يقال لها المشارف "Meshârif is the plural of Moshrif and denotes certain villages near Hawrân, one of which is *Bosra*. It is from them that the swords called *moshrefiyya* derive their name. They are also said to be villages in *Yemen*. It is mentioned in *The Warlike Expeditions*, that the Army of Moâvia was met by the troops of Heracl (Heraclius) in a village among those villages of *Balcá*, which are called Meshârif." The Baron I think, with the humblest deference to his infinitely superior knowledge, has erred in translating the latter part of the quotation, *bourgade qui porte le nom de Meschârif*; as the plural noun, which is used for a collection of villages, such as is more than once mentioned in the present work, can hardly be meant for the distinct name of only one of them.

[1] وَإِخْوَانًا حَسِبْتُهُمْ دُرُوعًا
فَكَانُوهَا وَلَكِنْ لِلْأَعَادِي

I thought them well aimed, sure striking arrows;
And they were so, but against my heart.
They say, our hearts are purified and drained;
And they speak the truth; they are drained of my affection.

One of the most singular incidents is this, that in circumstances where I had absolutely no thought or imagination collected or bent on these revolutions and events, suddenly it was whispered, as it were, to the ear of my soul, that the duration of the reign of the Safavean Soltâns is noted in the word *Safaviyón*; and when I looked at it, I saw that it coincided; for although the exit of the prince, equal in state to Solomon, Shah Ismaïl from the court of sovereignty, Lâhijân, was in the year nine hundred and four, his session on the throne of royalty in the seat of government Tabrîz was in nine hundred and seven; then the deposition of Abbâs Mîrzâ from the name of Sovereign, and the usurpation of Nâdir Shâh, as has been described, took place in one thousand one

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وَخِلْتُهُمْ سِهَامًا صَايِبَاتٍ
فَكَانُوهَا وَلَكِنْ فِي فُؤَادِي
وَقَالُوا قَدْ صَفَتْ مِنَّا قُلُوبٌ
لَقَدْ صَدَقُوا وَلَكِنْ عَنْ وِدَادِي

hundred and forty-eight; consequently the duration of the dynasty of this exalted race must be two hundred and forty-two years complete, which agrees with the numbers in *Safaviyán*.[1]

And now that a slight sketch of these events has accidentally fallen from my pen, which has no inclination any further to pursue the description of the residuary circumstances, it will abridge in a few words the conclusion of my own history. "God grant me a termination in paradise, and make my state in the last life better than in the first."[2]

From the period of my arrival in Shâh Jehân Abâd until the date of this, which is the latter end of the year one thousand one hundred and fifty-four (A.D. 1742.) three years and odd are past, that my time has been spent in this town, and that I have been continually in the thought of moving and making my escape from this country, where I am fallen so utter a stranger: but from a multiplicity of insurmountable obstacles it has

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[1] The numerical powers of the letters in the word صفويون are ص 90 + ف 80 + و 6 + ي 10 + و 6 + ن 50 = 242.

[2] خَتَمَ ٱللّٰهُ بِٱلْحُسْنَى وَجَعَلَ مُنْتَلِبِي فِي ٱلْآخِرَةِ خَيْرًا مِنَ ٱلْأُولَى

proved impossible. With the firm foot of patience and toleration I have measured three and fifty stations of the uneven road of life. My elemental frame, crushed by the assemblage of grief and diseases, and the powers of my soul, flagged and fallen away to indolence and neglect, have sunk the head within the breast-fold of lowliness. Now, weak and helpless, I sit listening for the note of departure.[1] "If thou punishest me, I am one of thy servants; and if thou grantest me pardon, it is that thou art the indulgent, the merciful."[2]

In my nature and disposition there was no principle of association with a strange country of men familiar with corruption and depravity; and as in coming I was not master of my own choice, nor yet am in going, I have done so much with the deepest blood of my heart;

Lines.[3]

Arise, HAZIN, from this lower world, arise!

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[1] Perhaps the Author had in view the verses of Hafiz, though not exactly in tone with his feelings;

مرا در منزل جانان چه امن و عیش چون هر دم
جرس فریاد میدارد که بر بندید محملها

[2] إِنْ تُعَذِّبْنِي فَإِنَّا مِنْ عِبَادِكَ وَإِنْ تَغْفِرْ لِي فَإِنَّكَ أَنْتَ ٱلْغَفُورُ ٱلرَّحِيمُ

[3] بر خیز حزین از سر دنیا بر خیز

From this mouldering dung-hill, arise, like Christ, arise!
Thou art solitary in the midst of this strange assembly;
Arise from among them, thus alone arise!

"We pray to God for pardon, and that he change our sorrow into joy, for he is beneficent, he is generous."[1]

END.

زين كهنه دمن تو اي مسيحا بر خيز
تنها تو در اين انجمني بيكانه
بر خيز از ين ميانه تنها بر خيز

[1] نَسْأَلُ ٱللَّهَ ٱلْغُفْرَانَ وَأَنْ يُبْدِلَ بِالْفَرَحِ ٱلْأَحْزَانَ
أَنَّهُ جَوَادٌ كَرِيمٌ

تم

APPENDIX.

As two classes of men are repeatedly mentioned in the course of this work, of whom it is difficult to form a clear notion; and as I have no where met with a more sensible and perspicuous description of them, than in the admirably judicious and well written Account of the Kingdom of Caubul, By the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, 1819.

I have made from it the following extracts.

On the Sofis.

Another sect in Caubul is that of the Soofees, who ought, perhaps, to be considered as a class of philosophers, rather than of religionists. As far as I can understand their mysterious doctrine, their leading tenet seems to be, that the whole of the animated and inanimate creation is an illusion; and that nothing exists except the Supreme Being, which presents itself under an infinity of shapes to the soul of man, itself a portion of the divine essence. The contemplation of this doctrine raises the Soofees to the utmost pitch of enthusiasm. They admire God in every thing; and, by frequent meditation on his attributes, and by tracing him through all his forms, they imagine that

they attain to an ineffable love for the Deity, and even to an entire union with his substance. As a necessary consequence of this theory, they consider the peculiar tenets of every religion as superfluities, and discard all rites and religious worship, regarding it as a matter of little importance in what manner the thoughts are turned to God, provided they rest at last in contemplation on his goodness and greatness. This sect is persecuted in Persia, and though not discountenanced by the government in Caubul, is held in great aversion by the Moollahs, who accuse its followers of Atheism, and often endeavour to entrap them into some doctrines which are liable to punishment by the Mahomedan law; but these attempts are seldom successful; one obstacle to their accomplishment is, that many of the Soofees are sincere Mahomedans, notwithstanding the inconsistency of the two doctrines. I have heard a man expatiate with rapture on the beauty of the Soofee system, and on the enlarged and liberal views of human actions to which it leads; who has soon after, in the same company, stickled for every tenet of Islaum, and rejected with horror the idea of doubting the eternity of hell-fire: when the difficulty of reconciling this doctrine with the belief that nothing existed but God was pointed out; he said that the system of the Soofees was certainly true, but that the eternity of hell was proved by the word of God himself.

The sect, however, is gaining ground, particularly among the higher orders, and such of the Moollahs as apply themselves to general literature; and its obscure sublimity is admirably suited to the taste of that class. The love of mystery, indeed, which is so remarkable among them, induces them to form the highest notions of every thing that is concealed, and has even occasioned a lively curiosity about free-masonry. I have often been

questioned regarding it, and have heard the opinions which have been formed of its nature. All that is known of it was communicated by a certain Dervise, who travelled into European countries, and who gave this account of his initiation in the mystery. He was directed to enter a particular building, and after passing through winding passages, and crossing several courts, he reached an apartment where eight persons were seated. They seemed all transported and disordered by their own reflections, and their countenances bore the marks of inspiration. The Dervise there learned unutterable things, and acquired more knowledge on the most sublime subjects from a moment's intercourse with those sages, than could have been gained by years of laborious study. Vol. i. p. 328.

On the Mollas.

The Moollahs are very numerous, and are found in every rank, from the chief courtiers and ministers to the lowest class in the poorest and wildest tribes. They are most numerous in proportion to the body of the people about towns. When mentioned as a body, they are usually called Ulema (or learned).

They are generally active, and comparatively able men, much attached to the interests of their own body, and careful to maintain its ascendancy. They are in possession of the greatest part of the learning of the country. The education of the youth, the practice of the law, and the administration of justice in all parts of the country, completely under the royal authority, are entirely intrusted to them: and these advantages, together with the respect which their superior knowledge commands among an ignorant and superstitious people, enable the Moollahs

in some circumstances to exercise an almost unlimited power over individuals, and even over bodies of men; to check and controul the governors and other civil officers; and sometimes to intimidate and endanger the King himself. This power is employed to punish practices contrary to the Mahomedan law, when they occur among its orthodox professors; to repress Sheahs, and other infidels; and, at least as often, to revenge the wrongs or forward the interests of individuals of the religious order. The influence of the Moollahs is often more beneficially exerted in reconciling quarrels in parts of the country where there are no other means of preserving the public peace. Troops of these holy personages often come with their flowing robes into the midst of two Oolooses, drawn out for battle. They hold out the Koraun, repeat Arabic prayers, exhort the people to remember their God, and their common religion; and seldom, if ever, fail to disperse them for the time, if they do not bring about a permanent reconciliation.

The Moollahs are particularly powerful about Peshâver, and through all the Berdooraunce country. In the city of Peshâver, the King's authority keeps them in some restraint, and obliges them to seek redress for private injuries from the civil power, or to wait an opportunity of fastening on their enemy some charge of heresy or infidelity, which may expose him to the bigotry of the people, or to the legal persecution of the Cauzi; but, in the remote parts of that country, an injury or an insult to a Moollah would itself be sufficient to raise a tumult. On these occasions, the Moollahs send round to their brethren to assemble, suspend the public worship and the ceremonies of burial, pronounce their antagonists infidels, and formally excommunicate and curse them. If this fails in forcing their enemies to submit, they parade the country

with the green standard of the prophet, beating drums, and proclaiming the Selaut (or war-cry of the Musulmans). They announce, that all who fall in their cause will be martyrs, and that all who fail to join them are excommunicated. By these means, they soon assemble a mob (or as they call it themselves an army); and, as the Afghauns are more afraid of their anathemas than their arms, they generally bring their adversaries to their terms, which include the right to plunder and burn the houses of the chief offenders and to impose a fine on their abettors.

Stories are told of the walls of towns falling down at the shout of an army of Moollahs; and swords are blunted, and balls turned aside when aimed at the life of these holy personages. Yet a stand was once made against them, even near Peshâver, when the Hakkim of Hashtnagar resisted an army of them who came to enforce an usurious contract, and beat them off with loss, to the great joy of the neighbourhood. Though treated with great respect in this part of the country, I believe they are more feared than loved. In the west, their power is much more limited, and their character much more respectable. They are, in consequence, generally popular, particularly in the country: but, even there, they are complained of for the vices of their order, and for their intrusive and insatiable demands on the hospitality of the inhabitants. Even in the west, their power has sometimes been felt in the towns, particularly during the reign of Timour Shauh, whose prime minister was a Moollah. At that time, they carried their insolence to such a pitch at Candahâr, that a band of them attacked Kefauyel Khaun (a Sheah nobleman of Persian descent, who had held some of the highest offices in the state,) and rushed into his haram, insisting on a present, and protesting against the injustice of his eating rich pilaws, while they had only dry bread.

It was with difficulty, and by the King's interposition alone, that the tumult was appeased. Their peculiar vices are hypocrisy, bigotry, and avarice. Their lives are sanctimonious in public, but some of them practise all sorts of licentiousness that can be enjoyed without scandal; and many are notorious for the practice of usury. Lending money on interest is expressly prohibited by the Koraun; and few decent Musulmans openly infringe a prohibition which it is so easy to evade. Most men content themselves with lending their money to merchants, stipulating for a share of the profit derived from the use of it, or with placing it in the hands of bankers, who profess to employ it in commerce, and to secure the owner a certain gain; but many Moollahs lend avowedly on compound interest and with good security, by which they multiply their wealth to an incredible extent, and have got possession of a considerable share of the landed property of the kingdom. But, as all do not practise usury, it may excite some curiosity to know how so numerous a body can be maintained.

Besides those who have ecclesiastical offices or pensions from the crown, and the more numerous class of village Imaums, who receive a certain share of the produce of the crops and flocks in their districts, many have grants of land from the King and from heads of villages; and some have received legacies of land from individuals. Some subsist by teaching and practising the law; others keep schools, or are tutors to the sons of rich men; some preach, and are paid by their congregations; some live by the charitable allowances granted by the crown and by villages to students, or by the alms and hospitality of people through whose country they travel; and others follow trade or farming, or live on their own means, and pursue their studies and amusements at leisure.

The character of a Moollah is conferred by an assembly of members of that order on persons who have gone through the proper course of study, and passed the requisite examination. The admission of a candidate is attended with a prescribed form; the chief part of which is investing him with the turban of a Moollah, which is bound round his head by the principal person in the assembly.

The Moollahs are distinguished by a particular dress, consisting of a large loose gown of white or black cotton, and a very large white turban of a peculiar shape.

There are no corporate bodies of Moollahs as there are of monks in Europe, nor is the whole order under the command of any chief, or subject to any particular discipline, like the clergy in England. All, except those who hold offices under the crown, are entirely independent; and the co-operation among them is only produced by a sense of common interest. They all marry, and live in other respects like laymen. I do not know that they have any peculiar manners, except an affectation of strictness; some of them affect great gravity, and others take pleasure in frequenting all companies, and meddling in all affairs. One of these may often be seen, with a large turban, and a blue handkerchief, a couple of yards long, over his shoulder, parading the streets at the head of a dozen of his disciples, with a long staff in his hand, and a large law-book under his arm: or sitting in the houses of the rich, haranguing the company, enforcing his doctrines with his fore-finger, and shaking his wide sleeve, or amusing the master of the house with his jokes and stories, and handing round his enormous snuff-box among the rest of the party. Moollahs of this sort are reckoned very pleasant companions.

As all the Afghauns are sent in their infancy to a Mool-

lah for education, and the rich keep Moollahs in their houses to teach their children, boys who are to be brought up as Moollahs, give a great deal of their time to the study of Arabic grammar, which, as it is very elaborate, and comprehends a great deal of science, that we do not mix with the rudiments of a language, sometimes occupies several years. When a young Moollah has made sufficient proficiency in this study, he goes to Peshâver, Hashtnagar, or some other place famous for its Moollahs, and begins on logic, law, and theology. No further knowledge is required to complete a Moollah's education, but many push their researches into ethics, metaphysics, and the system of physics known in the East, as well as history, poetry and medicine, which last is a fashionable study for men of all professions. For those studies, and for the more advanced branches of theology and law, they often travel to distant cities, and even to Bokhaura, which is a great seat of Mahomedan learning; but Peshâver seems, on the whole, to be the most learned city in these countries, and many more students come thither from Bokhaura, than repair to that city from Peshâver. India has not a great reputation for learning, and the heresy of the Persians makes all Soonnees avoid the infection of their colleges.

It is reckoned a good work in the sight of God to promote learning, and, consequently, besides the King's colleges, there is an establishment in every village for maintaining students. The consequence is, that the country is over-run with half-taught Moollahs, who rather impede than promote the progress of real learning.

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3d. The Committee is empowered to add to its number, to purchase Oriental MSS. or printed books, to present copies of the works printed at the expense of the Oriental Translation Fund to Learned Societies and individuals, and to adopt all the means that it may consider to be necessary for promoting the objects for which it was appointed. No payment, however, exceeding twenty-five pounds, is to be made until approved at two successive Meetings of the Committee.

4th. The Meetings of the Committee will be held as often as the Chairman or Secretary, or any two other Members of it, signing a requisition for that purpose, deem it necessary. All the Members of the Committee resident within one hundred miles of London, are to be summoned to attend each of its Meetings; and five Members, including the Chairman or a Deputy Chairman, and the Secretary, are to constitute a quorum.

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The Tuzzuk Timuri; translated by Major Charles Stewart.

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This is a rare and valuable Arabic work, containing an account of the origin, progress, and decline of the dynasties which governed the northern coast of Africa.

The great Geographical Work of Idrisi; translated by the Rev. G. C. Renouard, B.D.

This Arabic work was written A.D. 1153, to illustrate a large silver globe made for Roger, King of Sicily, and is divided into the seven climates described by the Greek geographers.

Makrisi's Khitat, or History and Statistics of Egypt; translated by Abraham Salamé, Esq.

This Arabic work includes accounts of the conquest of Egypt by the Caliphs, A.D. 640; and of the cities, rivers, ancient and modern inhabitants of Egypt, &c.

Part of Mirkhond's Ruzet-al-Suffa; translated by David Shea, Esq.

The part of this Persian work selected for publication is that which conta History of Persia from Kaiomurs to the death of Alexander the Great.

Class 3d.—Bibliography, Belles-Lettres, and Biography

Haji Khalfa's Bibliographical Dictionary; translated by Herrn Gustav gel.

This valuable Arabic work was written by the celebrated Kateb Chelebi al M and contains accounts of above 13,000 Arabic, Persian, and Turkish works, a alphabetically.

Heft Peiker, an historical Romance of Behrám Gúr; translated by th Hon. Sir Gore Ouseley, Bart.

From the Persian of Nizami of Ganjah, containing the romantic history of the Vth of the Sassanian dynasty of Persian Kings.

Meher va Mushteri; translated by the Right Hon. Sir Gore Ouseley, I

This Persian Poem, of which an abridgement will be published, was compose hammed Assár, and celebrates the friendship and adventures of Meher and M the sons of King Shapur and his Grand Vizier.

Ibn Khalikan's Lives of Illustrious Men; translated by Dr. F. A. Ros

This is an Arabic Biographical Dictionary, arranged alphabetically, of the m brated Arabian historians, poets, warriors, &c. who lived in the seven first cen the era of Mahommed, A.D. 600 to A.D. 1300.

The Bustan of Sadi; translated by James Ross, Esq., A.M.

This is a much-admired Persian Poem, consisting of Tales, &c. illustrative of moral duties.

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